PAOLA GEMME

Domesticating Foreign Struggles

The Italian Risorgimento and Antebellum American Identity

VISIT…

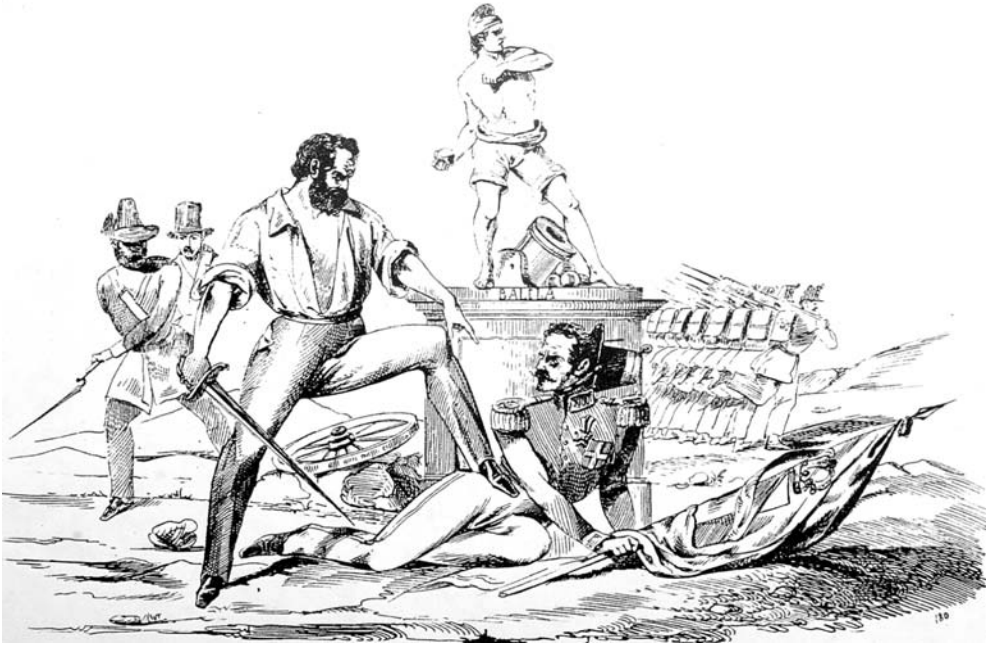
Domesticating Foreign Struggles

The Italian Risorgimento and Antebellum American Identity

The University of Georgia Press
Athens & London

Domesticating Foreign Struggles

Paola Gemme



© 2005 by The University of Georgia Press
Athens, Georgia 30602
All rights reserved
Set in 11/14 Adobe Garamond by BookComp
Printed and bound by Maple-Vail
The paper in this book meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Committee on Production Guidelines for Book Longevity of the Council on Library Resources.
Printed in the United States of America
09 08 07 06 05 C 5 4 3 2 1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Gemme, Paola, 1966–
Domesticating foreign struggles : the Italian Risorgimento and antebellum American identity /Paola Gemme.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-8203-2707-7 (hardcover : alk. paper)
1. Italy—Foreign public opinion, American—History—19th century. 2. Italy—History—1849–1870. 3. Public opinion—United States—History—19th century. I. Title.
E183.8.I8G455 2005
945'.083—dc22
2004021100

British Library Cataloging-in-Publication Data available

Chapter 2 of this book was previously published, in a different form, as “Imperial Designs of Political Philanthropy: A Study of Antebellum Accounts of Italian Liberalism,” in *American Studies International* 39, no. 1 (2001): 19–51, and appears courtesy of George Washington University. Chapter 4 was previously published, in a different form, as “Domesticating Foreign Struggles: American Narratives of Italian Revolutions and the Debate on Slavery in the Antebellum Era,” in *Prospects* 27 (2002): 77–101, and appears courtesy of Cambridge University Press.

ISBN for this digital edition: 978-0-8203-4399-0

A mio padre, che me ha insegnato a amare la storia

This page intentionally left blank

CONTENTS

List of Figures *ix*

Introduction: Domesticating Foreign Struggles *1*

1. Of American Mentors and Foreign Pupils: The Cultural Work of Republican Pedagogy *15*
2. Of Revolutions and Commerce: The Imperial Vistas of Political Philanthropy *57*
3. An American Jeremiah in Rome: Margaret Fuller's *Tribune* Dispatches *89*
4. Republican Debates I: The Color of the Republic *107*
5. Republican Debates II: The Religion of the Republic *131*

Epilogue: Revolution and Immigration *156*

Notes *163*

Bibliography *179*

Index *199*

This page intentionally left blank

FIGURES

1. Map of the unification of Italy *9*
2. *At Midnight* (ca. 1853) *28*
3. Italians rebelling against the Austrians (ca. 1850) *29*
4. Bond for the Alleanza Repubblicana Universale (ca. 1865) *33*
5. Hiram Powers, *America* (1848–50) *34*
6. Thomas Nast, *Street Scene in Naples the Day after the Arrival of Garibaldi* (1860) *41*
7. Martin Johnson Heade, *Roman Newsboys* (1848) *48*
8. Map of the harbor of Naples (1847) *63*
9. Portrait of Giuseppe Mazzini (1852) *74*
10. Map of the second campaign of Charles Albert (1852) *80*
11. *General Giuseppe Garibaldi* (1860) *125*
12. *The Saint and the Hero: Garibaldi Driving St. Januarius and the Winking Picture out of Naples* (1860) *147*
13. *Dignum et justum est* (ca. 1853) *148*

This page intentionally left blank

Domesticating Foreign Struggles

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction

Domesticating Foreign Struggles

American studies scholars have recently called for a transnational and comparative approach to American culture. Such a perspective would reject traditional models of American separatism and exceptionalism and highlight instead American culture's evolution through a dynamic and reciprocal interaction with cultural traditions situated beyond its national borders. An internationalized American studies, moreover, would usefully complicate the study of U.S. multiculturalism by situating it within a global context. The relationship between domestic ethnic and racial groups would be shown to evolve in response to international power struggles as

well as internal developments. Finally, a nonparochial American studies would examine American culture from outside, using as investigative tools other cultures' descriptions of themselves and their relation to the United States. Looking at America from outside its borders as well as from inside them and comparing the view from within with that from without would allow the practitioners of this new disciplinary model to distance themselves from the ideological assumptions of U.S. culture instead of unconsciously accepting them.[1]

Amy Kaplan has been a particularly strong advocate of a new disciplinary method that would integrate the study of America's domestic and foreign relations rather than treat them as separate and independent from each other. According to her, opening to a transnational perspective would be especially fruitful when exploring the articulation of nationalistic ideology and the creation of domestic ethnocultural and racial hierarchies. She argues that historians of American nationalism have generally adopted Benedict Anderson's influential but to some extent limiting conception of the nation as "imagined community," a conception that emphasizes the ties linking individuals to each other within the nation-state and that therefore treats nationalism as a domestic issue. The nation, however, is defined in negative as well as positive terms, through its differences from other nations as well as the similarity between its citizens. If one opts for this alternative, oppositional conception of nationalism, then the study of how the United States was perceived as unlike other countries at any given time becomes of paramount importance for the understanding of American national identity. America's multiculturalism should also be approached from an international as well as intranational perspective. The U.S. multiracial and multiethnic social structure, Kaplan contends, has historically interacted with global dynamics such as empire building. "Putatively domestic conflicts," she writes, "are not simply contained at home but . . . they both emerge in response to international struggles and spill over national boundaries to be reenacted, challenged, and transformed."[2] As in the case of nationalistic ideology, internal power differentials evolve beyond as well as within national boundaries and can be fully comprehended only in that larger context.[3]

This book attempts to move toward the transnational and comparative American studies practice advocated by Kaplan and others. It explores American texts commenting on the political situation of nineteenth-

century Italy and argues that the discourse on Italy contributed to the articulation of America's own national identity. Unlike Kaplan, however, I view the formation of national identity, following theorist Etienne Balibar, as a dual process entailing both differentiation from groups situated outside the national body and the creation of internal homogeneity through the expulsion or alienation from the privileges of national citizenship of elements considered antithetical to the ethnic and cultural identity of the state.[4] Accordingly, I consider power differentials among America's ethnic and racial groups, an issue that proponents of a global approach to U.S. culture have generally distinguished from that of nationalism, to be an essential component of the antebellum search for a definition of America. Thus, the analysis of how American representations of Italy participated in the invention of the nation examines the answers these texts provided to the question of the difference between the United States and other nations and also to that of the racial and cultural character of the American citizen. Finally, the vision of the United States that emerges from American renditions of Italy's political life is throughout compared and contrasted with Italian texts describing the same subject and, at times, evaluating America's own political institutions. Far from aiming to replace the American version with a "truer" Italian one, the comparison is employed to illuminate the constructedness and ideological parameters of both versions. To reiterate, this study is "transnational" in that it places the main locus for the delineation of America's sense of itself in the confrontation with cultures outside its boundaries, and "comparative" in that it contrasts the voices of American nationals with those of foreign subjects.

The international context in which this book situates the articulation of American national identity is the geopolitical transformation undergone by Italy around the mid–nineteenth century, a transformation that Italian historians indicate with the term "Risorgimento," or "rebirth." After centuries of foreign occupation and fragmentation into numerous small states, Italians were struggling to free the country from its colonial bond to the Austrian empire, unify it into one nation-state, and replace local absolute monarchies with more liberal forms of government. The analogy between Italy's process of disengagement from imperial authority, fusion of previously independent colonies, and establishment of new institutions and the events of the American Revolution was unmistakable. It was an ideal situation for a postulation of the U.S. role in the political development

of other countries and a comparison between the conduct of the Italian patriots and the American insurgents, that is, for the kind of rhetorical moves essential to the definition of national identity. Italy's specific political and religious history allowed for further comparisons between Italians and groups within the United States whose right of membership in the national body politic was under debate at the time. Like black slaves in the American republic, Italians had been subjected to brutal despotism for centuries, and knowing how they conducted themselves upon obtaining freedom could be used to speculate about how bondsmen would react to manumission. Moreover, like the millions of Irish immigrants who moved to America in the 1840s, Italians have traditionally been Catholic, and the evaluation of their liberal revolutions could contribute to the assessment of the capability of Catholic immigrants to adjust to U.S. democracy. The usefulness of antebellum America's confrontation with the Risorgimento for a study of the development of U.S. national identity lies precisely in the dual process of comparison—between Italians and Americans as a whole, but also between Italians and marginalized racial and cultural minorities in the United States—that such confrontation permitted. Thus, the sight of revolutionary Italy allowed American commentators to explore both the question of how America allegedly differed from other nations and the question of who could be an American citizen, an answer to both being essential to the definition of the nation.[5]

Since defining the nation entails, as we have seen, a twofold course of differentiation, the analysis of the image of America emerging from texts on Italy is divided into two main sections. The first three chapters focus on how antebellum America defined its political identity through the confrontation with Italy, while the last two chapters concentrate on how the discourse on Italy contributed to the identification of the racial and cultural prerequisites for American citizenship. Both sections emphasize that different groups of Americans provided different answers to the questions of what is America and who is an American. Like any other ideology, nationalistic ideology in mid-nineteenth-century America was heterogeneous, complicated by the presence of competing and variant counterideologies. However, the exploration of America's definition of itself in the context of Italian liberalism confirms to an extent Sacvan Bercovitch's contention that American ideology has been unprecedentedly successful in absorbing and neutralizing dissenting voices.[6] Although American accounts of the Risorgimento contain antagonistic visions of the correlation between

U.S. democracy and Italian liberalism, all such alternatives are ultimately channeled in the same master narrative asserting the superiority of America over Italy. My analysis diverges from Bercovitch's theory, however, in that I find that on this shared assumption of American exceptionalism, marginalized groups within the United States were successful in offering competing definitions of American citizenship intended to gain them membership in the nation-state. Thus, while contrasting responses to the question of how America differs from Italy are reducible to one, the multiple responses offered to the question of who can be an American retained their oppositional character.

The first section of this book, centered on the delineation of American national identity through the comparison with revolutionary Italy, examines the myth of the United States as catalyst and model of global liberal movements, the designs of imperial expansion that such a mystique legitimized, and the fundamental identity of seemingly alternative versions of the Risorgimento to the master narrative of America as influential republican prototype. In particular, the first chapter, "Of American Mentors and Foreign Pupils: The Cultural Work of Republican Pedagogy," focuses on American renditions of the Italian struggle for freedom as both ideologically indebted to the democratic exemplum set by the United States and destined to fail because of the Italians' civic deficiencies. In fact, American re-creations of Italian uprisings are often comic and occasionally disquieting tales of republican miscarriages alternating between the condescending representation of Italians as excitable, incompetent patriots—children playing at revolutions rather than citizens fighting for their freedom—and nightmarish accounts of mobocratic rule. This negative characterization of Italian liberalism contributed to the creation of an empowering image of America as not only model of republicanism but also as its only extant realization. A comparison with the Italian understanding of the process of nation formation in Italy as a resurgence of a domestic tradition of national independence and political freedom rather than a replica of the revolution of 1776 allows the highlighting of the constructedness of the vision of America that emerges from the commentary on the Risorgimento. Ultimately, such a vision is a "dream of ideological empire," a national illusion of agency in effecting a global process of democratization.

Although antebellum America's self-ascribed identity as initiator of liberalism worldwide was a fiction, it had very concrete historical effects. The second chapter, "Of Revolutions and Commerce: The Imperial Vistas of

Political Philanthropy," examines how the myth of the United States as catalyst of Italian republicanism underwrote plans for military intervention in support of Italy's democratic revolutionary governments, intervention that aimed at increasing U.S. commercial presence and political power in the Mediterranean. The focus is on the campaign for intervention in revolutionary Europe conducted in the early 1850s in the *Democratic Review* by the members of Young America, the radical fringe of the Democratic Party that favored continental and global expansion. Young Americans argued that it was the nation's duty to aid the fledgling republics that had been inspired by its democratic experiment. Such a course of action, they maintained, was convenient as well as righteous, since the new Italian republics would express their gratitude by stipulating favorable commercial treaties with the United States. Since Italy was perceived as a potential market for the American agricultural surplus, the gratitude of the country's new leaders could be very profitable. The myth of America as democratic exemplum, American aid to foreign republicanism, and the desire for global commercial expansion are therefore closely interconnected. Thus, the vision of America as center of an ideological empire found in accounts of Italian events functioned as ideological justification for efforts to realize such an empire.

Finally, the third chapter, "An American Jeremiah in Rome: Margaret Fuller's *Tribune* Dispatches," examines accounts of the Risorgimento that seem at first sight to deviate from the dominant narrative of Italian revolutionary incompetence. It focuses on Margaret Fuller's famous dispatches on the 1848 Roman republic for the *New-York Daily Tribune,* which have traditionally been considered a defense of Italian republicanism and an indictment of American democracy. I show instead that Fuller's critique of America lies within the tradition of the jeremiad, a lament of the nation's failure to live up to its original promise, which reaffirms national dreams while deploring that they are not being pursued, and that as such it confirms rather than denies U.S. identity as unsurpassed republican model. The dispatches thus participate in the construction of America as republican archetype, which legitimized those very imperialistic ventures that are the object of Fuller's critique.

The final two chapters of this study, "Republican Debates I: The Color of the Republic" and "Republican Debates II: The Religion of the Republic," complete the examination of the role played by American commentary

on the Risorgimento in the articulation of U.S. national identity by focusing on the uses of the discussion of Italian political prospects to voice the controversy over the fitness for participatory democracy of domestic nondominant groups. Because of the analogies that could be drawn between the Italians and both enslaved blacks and Irish Catholic immigrants, the assessment of Italy's progress toward a lay and liberal state lent itself to becoming a mediated discussion about whether racial and ethnic Others could be endowed with the power of republican citizenship in the United States. Different interest groups offered opposing answers. Proslavery advocates and members of anti-immigrant organizations used Italian events to argue in favor of a restrictive, elitist form of republicanism accessible exclusively to Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Slaveholders maintained, for instance, that the inhabitants of the Italian peninsula and the American slaves, as peoples of darker complexion, were both biologically unqualified for self-government. Similarly, nativists called attention to the hostility evinced by the Italian Catholic Church to the rise of liberalism in Italy, to conclude that Catholicism and republicanism were incompatible and that "priest-ridden" Irish immigrants could not be entrusted with the powers of republican citizenship. Abolitionists and Catholic apologists, on the contrary, denied that race and religious persuasion were factors affecting republican virtue and offered a more expansive definition of American citizenship that would allow former slaves and new immigrants access to the polity. In spite of their antagonistic visions of the cultural and racial identity of the American citizen, however, all were articulating and resolving domestic concerns within the discourse on foreign Others.

The epilogue, "Revolution and Immigration," continues the investigation of the role played by accounts of the Risorgimento in the creation of national sociopolitical hierarchies by analyzing two late-nineteenth-century histories of the unification of Italy, William Roscoe Thayer's *Dawn of Italian Independence* (1893) and William James Stillman's *Union of Italy* (1898). The skepticism toward Italian civic virtue that often characterizes contemporary accounts of Italy's nationalistic struggles also pervades these later narratives. Both Thayer and Stillman argued that Italy had risen against foreign despotism too soon, before the people were ready for more liberal institutions. As with earlier texts, comments on seemingly external events were in reality statements about internal matters. The difference between earlier and later histories lies in the role played by Italians

in American society. By the end of the 1890s, with the dramatic increase of immigration from Italy, Italians had become domestic Others. End-of-the-century narratives of the civil deficiencies of Risorgimental Italians can therefore be situated within the context of growing hostility toward immigrants from southern Europe. The Others outside the nation had turned into Others within, but the rhetorical means to disfranchise them remained the same.

It is opportune at this point to relate in more detail the process of nation formation in Italy that American observers commented on and compared with their domestic national history.[7] The beginning of the Risorgimento is conventionally made to coincide with the Congress of Vienna of 1815, from which the Italian peninsula, which had enjoyed a brief period of territorial unity under Napoleonic rule, emerged fragmented and directly or indirectly under Austrian control. Lombardy and the former Venetian republic were merged into the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia and governed by an Austrian viceroy in Milan. The Duchies of Parma and Modena and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany became the personal possession of members of the Austrian reigning family. The southern Kingdom of the Two Sicilies was nominally ruled by the Spanish dynasty of the Bourbons, but its sovereigns were linked to Vienna by a permanent defensive alliance that gave Austria the right to intervene in the country to prevent any changes in its political configuration. Although the pope was the acknowledged temporal ruler of a vast kingdom comprising most of central Italy, Austrian troops were permanently stationed in the city of Ferrara, at the northern border of the Papal States, so that the policy of Rome was virtually dictated by the Austrian emperors. Only the Kingdom of Sardinia, comprising Savoy, Piedmont, Liguria and the island of Sardinia, was governed by a domestic dynasty and was independent from Austria (fig. 1).

Throughout Italy, the rise of Austrian rule entailed the establishment of absolute governments, a situation that Italians found more galling after the experience of the relatively progressive French administration. Dissent was quick to rise and find expression in the organization of secret societies aiming at securing constitutions from the local sovereigns and, especially in Lombardy-Venetia, independence from Austria. The first revolutionary episodes took place in Naples in 1820 and in Piedmont in 1821. In both cases, the insurrectionists were momentarily successful and forced their respective governments to grant liberal constitutions, but Austrian armies

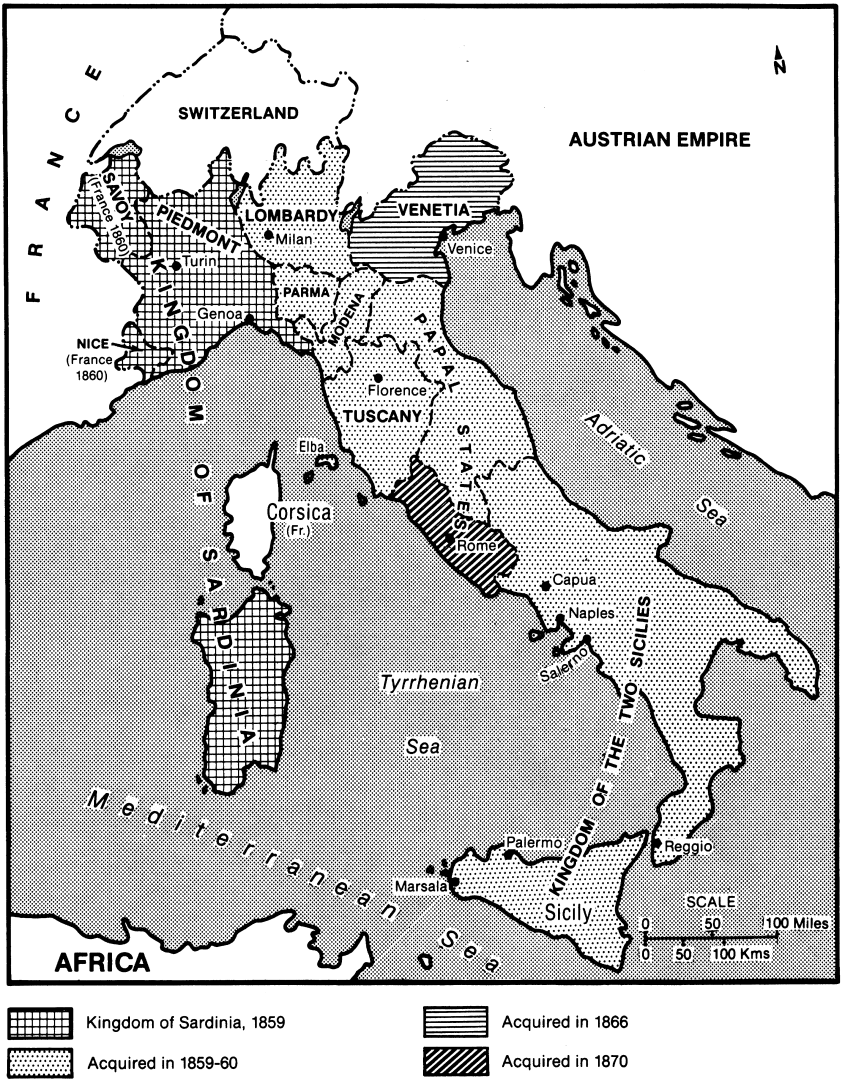


FIGURE 1. *The unification of Italy, from Albert Boime,* The Art of the Macchia and the Risorgimento: Representing Culture and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Italy *(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), © 1993 by The University of Chicago Press. Italian nationhood was achieved through the progressive annexation of different sections of the peninsula to the Kingdom of Sardinia.*

quickly intervened to reestablish the status quo. The incidents of 1820–21 provoked a severe reaction in Lombardy-Venetia as well, where the Austrian government proceeded to arrest all those suspected of anti-Austrian opinions and condemn to long periods of imprisonment dozens of Italian patriots.

The failure of another set of risings in the Papal States in 1831, once again due to Austrian intervention, led to a reconsideration of the tactics employed by the patriots. For Giuseppe Mazzini, who would become the most prominent figure of the democratic party, the problem lay in the secret societies' failure to mobilize the people in their support. According to him, only the collective participation of the rural and urban proletariat in the revolutionary effort could ensure success. The goal of armed insurrection, moreover, would be not merely the liberalization of local governments, but the realization of a united, independent, and republican Italian nation. More conservative advocates of Italian nationalism such as nobleman Massimo D'Azeglio and Catholic philosopher Vincenzo Gioberti argued instead that Italy could be freed solely under the leadership of one of the Italian princes, either the king of Sardinia or the pope, who had both the military power and diplomatic influence to conduct a successful war against the Austrian empire. Proponents of this moderate alternative to Mazzini's program of popular insurrection envisioned a unified independent Italy as a federation of independent progressive monarchies rather than a republic.

Until midcentury both the radical republican and the moderate monarchical alternatives appeared viable. When Pius IX, upon his election to the papal throne in 1846, embarked on a course of progressive reforms in his kingdom and proposed the formation of a commercial and political league between Italian states, it seemed that Italy would be liberalized and united through the agency of its sovereigns and under the leadership of the church. In 1848, however, when the people of Milan and Venice rose against the Austrians, the pope refused to join them in the struggle against foreign imperialism, thus putting an end to the alliance between liberalism and Catholicism. The only sovereign who supported the insurgents, Charles Albert of Sardinia, was repeatedly defeated by the Austrian army and compelled to abdicate in favor of Victor Emmanuel II. The initiative thus returned to the democratic party, which proclaimed Rome and Venice republics and continued the war against Austria. Localized insurrections, however, could not withstand the armies of the conservative European

powers. After a fierce siege, the Romans surrendered to the French troops that had come to the pope's aid, and the Venetians submitted once more to Austrian authority. By 1850 it was clear that the papacy had taken a conservative turn, that the people did not have the military resources to free themselves, and that the only Italian sovereign willing to oppose Austria, the king of Sardinia, needed the cooperation of other European powers to succeed.

After the revolutionary explosion of midcentury, the achievement of Italian unity and independence became the work of Piedmontese diplomacy. Thanks to the political skill of Prime Minister Camillo Benso di Cavour, the Kingdom of Sardinia entered an anti-Austrian military alliance with France and acquired Lombardy, Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and the northern section of the Papal States in 1859. A similar military compact with Prussia led to the acquisition of Venetia in 1866. The conquest of Rome in 1870, which completed Italy's national unification, was also made possible by international developments, namely Prussia's war against France, which demanded the recall of the French troops stationed in the city to protect the pope and allowed Victor Emmanuel II's army to enter it undisturbed.

The only popular contribution to the liberation of Italy in this second, monarchical phase of the Risorgimento was patriot Giuseppe Garibaldi's expedition to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1860. Although it was Garibaldi's volunteers and the local population who defeated the Bourbon troops, the enterprise ended in a monarchical success. Garibaldi, acknowledging that Italian independence could be achieved at that time only through Sardinia's leadership, resigned his authority to Victor Emmanuel II, who proceeded to annex the southern territories to his kingdom and proclaim himself king of Italy. While monarchical diplomacy, as Garibaldi had guessed, would prove itself more effective than republican revolutions, the making of Italy under the aegis of a king entailed a disillusionment of the visions of radical social equality that had characterized the earlier stage of the nationalistic movement. In united, independent, but monarchical Italy, suffrage would be restricted in 1870 to less than 2 percent of the adult male population.

The invention of America through the discourse on the formation of Italian nationhood related earlier took place within a varied body of verbal and, occasionally, nonverbal texts. American diplomats stationed in the Italian peninsula reported on the political situation of the country in their

dispatches to Washington. Religious leaders and politicians delivered public speeches to commemorate the different stages of Italy's unification. Professional writers commented on the major events and figures of the Risorgimento in numerous periodical articles. Americans touring Italy recorded their impressions of the political climate of the country in published accounts of their travels and their personal correspondence. Protestant propagandists wrote celebratory histories of the Roman republic of 1849 and exposés of papal despotism. A few popular novelists wrote fiction featuring as protagonists renowned revolutionary leaders, often with an explicit anti-Catholic message. Poets, generally connected with the abolitionist movement, lamented the Italians' enslavement to Austria and celebrated their emancipation from foreign imperialism. And although visual representations of the Italian revolutions are less common than verbal ones, the foreign correspondents of major American newspapers often illustrated their reports from abroad with sketches depicting the insurgents, their leaders, and their military operations. Like their verbal counterparts, these nonverbal representations of political events in Italy function as an oblique discourse on the nature and scope of American democracy.

Although the corpus of American texts commenting on the process of nation formation in Italy is both extensive and diverse, elite artistic productions are conspicuously lacking from it. American artists visited Italy in great numbers during the years of the Risorgimento, but very rarely did novelists, painters, or sculptors represent the Italian political situation in their work. In the midst of revolutions, painters like Thomas Cole and Jasper Francis Cropsey chose to depict landscapes dotted with ruins and an occasional diminutive shepherd; sculptors from Thomas Crawford to William Wetmore Story carved marble Arcadian boys and nymphs; and novelist Nathaniel Hawthorne, who resided in Rome during the French military occupation of the city following the demise of the republic of 1849, transformed the Italian patriots who had elected their own representatives by universal suffrage into improbable creatures more closely related to ancient mythology than the actualities of nineteenth-century Italian history.[8] As Hawthorne noted in the preface to his 1860 Italian romance, *The Marble Faun,* Italy's inspirational value for the American artist lay precisely in its perceived radical difference from America, in its being untouched by the modern forces of capitalism and democracy, or, as Hawthorne put it, by the "commonplace prosperity" of a "stalwart republic."[9] It is exactly

because Italy's appeal lay in what cultural historian James Buzard has called its "alterity," that American artists largely erased from their work the process of political and economic modernization undergone by the country in the nineteenth century, a process that tended to make Italy "like America" rather than "other than America" and therefore compromised its usefulness as artistic matter.[10] Whenever major American writers did address the issue of the liberalization of Italy, they did so in negative terms, often expressing a nostalgic longing for a less democratic but far more engaging past. Charles Eliot Norton, an influential art historian and translator of Dante, put it best when he declared that "Italy, in losing tyrants, in becoming constitutional, in taking to trade, is doing what she can in spoiling her charm."[11] Norton's friend Henry James, who expressed similar opinions in his collection of essays *Italian Hours,* never featured the new "united and prosperous, but altogether scientific and commercial" Italy in any of his Italian novels.[12]

Since the Italy that interested and inspired American artists was ahistorical and apolitical, a static Italy rather than Italy *in-fieri,* the country's political development remained almost exclusively the topic of nonliterary, nonartistic texts.[13] Although Italy's present was unserviceable for the creation of elite art, the body of American texts commenting on the Risorgimento is, as we have seen, extremely diversified. My analysis, however, for the most part purposely ignores distinctions of semiotic medium and genre among American accounts of modern Italian history, focusing instead on the texts' common characteristic: their performative power, that is, their active contribution to nationalistic ideology. American representations of Italian revolutions, in other words, are not merely descriptive. On the contrary, they participate in the cultural discussion of America's national identity and the boundaries of the nation-state.[14] They advance the rhetorical creation of American political evangelism and exceptionalism. They legitimize imperialistic ventures abroad. They either reinforce imperial relations within the nation itself by arguing in favor of the restriction of citizenship to Anglo-Saxon Protestants or, alternatively, strive to dismantle the system of internal colonialism by demanding the extension of citizenship to disfranchised ethnoracial minorities. Poems, religious pamphlets, travelogues, private letters, maps, and essays all do this. Regardless of their form, all American accounts of the Risorgimento have a pragmatic cultural impact and are therefore approached in this study with the same analytic methods.[15]

Because the heterogeneous texts through which Americans discussed Italian liberalism are equalized by their performative power, I refer to all of them as "narratives." For several reasons I find the term "narrative" especially appropriate to describe the texts I examine. First, narratologists have defined narrative broadly as the semiotic representation of a series of events, a definition that subsumes differences in medium and genre.[16] The concept of narrative is therefore useful to designate a group of texts as varied as U.S. accounts of the Risorgimento. Second, recent theories of narrative have stressed its "culture-making" or ideological function, namely its contribution to the articulation of belief systems that promote social cohesion and underwrite social hierarchies at the same time.[17] This conception of narrative as, to use Fredric Jameson's formulation, "social act" or "ideology at work" once more fits texts that participated in a definition of America that functioned both as a unifying force providing a sense of common identity to a disparate population and as a discriminating force attempting to dispossess some members of the population of the powers of citizenship.[18] Third, classic narratology has traditionally distinguished between the facts related in a narrative and the way the story is told by linking the facts together, thereby suggesting that the same events can be emplotted in different manners.[19] Postmodern narratology has elaborated on the distinction between events and the relation of the events and has contended that as representation, narrative is also always a re-creation of the facts represented. As a consequence, the term "narrative" has largely replaced the term "fiction" in contemporary criticism.[20] These considerations have proved useful in my analysis of American accounts of Italian revolutions, which, although they share the same subject, differ dramatically from each other as well as from Italian depictions of the same events. Thus, the concept of "narrative" is once more suitable to approach texts that, in describing a set of transatlantic occurrences, reinvent them in contrasting ways.

It is to the cultural purposes of these contrasting narratives that this study now turns.

With anxious eyes and hoping heart we have stood
Watching for light upon your struggling way,
Ye older nations, who have heard the sound
That liberty is possible to man.
The fitful gleams we saw are over now;
Your people seem unworthy of the boon;
They turn to their idols yet again,
And we are still alone the Nation Free—
The great Republic waiting for its peers!
Well, be it so—*so we shall stand—still stand,*
A mighty people, with no king but God!
—*American Whig Review,* 1852

I Of American Mentors and Foreign Pupils

The Cultural Work of Republican Pedagogy

In his autobiography, *Reminiscences,* written at the end of a long career as a lawyer and politician, James A. Hamilton recorded extensively his trip to Italy in 1848. The memoir reproduces a letter he wrote from Rome to an unidentified New York friend describing the most recent political events, namely that the king of Sardinia, the grand duke of Tuscany, and the king of the Two Sicilies had been compelled by popular uprisings to grant to their subjects constitutions providing for the establishment of legislative chambers elected through limited suffrage. Although Hamilton sympathized with the Italians' struggle to obtain representative

governments, he understood it as motivated not by the historical evolution of Italy and the resentment against foreign domination of a people who had a tradition of independence and republicanism, but by the institutions of the United States. In his words, "the *political reforms* of this old world, so numerous and so rapidly advancing, are due to our example. 'The spirit of '76' is the pillar of light by day and of fire by night to all mankind." If he deemed the Italians had been prompted to fight for freedom by the inspiring presence of republicanism in America, Hamilton was skeptical that they possessed the civic virtue necessary to establish and maintain a democracy. In fact, he confided to his correspondent his belief that "the masses, from their ignorance, their habitual servility, and their blind confidence in their priesthood, . . . are not only entirely unfitted to govern themselves, but incapable of knowing what good government is." In spite of his doubts about the political competence of the Italians, Hamilton's letter closes on a positive if indefinite note. "I entertain an abiding confidence," he wrote, "that the 'spirit of '76,' which proclaimed freedom and happiness to all mankind, will work out its high mission here and elsewhere, in its appointed time."[1] Hamilton's letter to his New York acquaintance thus amounts to a declaration that although the insurrections against the absolute governments established in Italy in the post-Napoleonic era were inspired by the experience of the United States, the Italians lacked—at least for the time being—the civic education essential to successfully imitate their American antecedents. Liberty was destined to triumph in Italy, too, but only eventually.

This chapter examines American narratives of Italy's nineteenth-century liberal struggles, which, like Hamilton's letter, describe them as both ideologically indebted to the republican exemplum provided by the United States and bound to fail because of the Italians' civic deficiencies. The question I address is that of the cultural function of these negative representations of the process of nation formation in Italy as an abortive offspring of American republicanism for the articulation of America's national identity.[2] In other words, I ask what image of the United States emerged from the confrontation with the process of nation formation in Italy, or what vision of "America" was created in the accounts of the Risorgimento authored by the diplomats, travelers, writers, and artists who represented it in their work.

The discourse on Italy became the site of an empowering definition of America in terms of the country's alleged influence over the political

development of transatlantic territories and its status as the only extant republic. To represent the Italian revolutions as prompted by the existence of democracy in America postulated for the United States an area of cultural influence beyond the nation's geographic boundaries. Specifically, it created the illusion of an American global ideological empire parallel to the territorial one that was being created through expansion in the North American continent. The representation of Italians as incompetent disciples of the American revolutionist so often found in American accounts of nineteenth-century Italy functioned to further enhance the prestige of the United States as republican model by depicting the model as inimitable. Thus, the United States emerged from narratives of the Risorgimento not only as teachers of republicanism abroad but also as its only qualified practitioners.

The theoretical assumptions that underlie this investigation of the role of narratives of nineteenth-century Italian nationalism in the invention of America derive from recent explorations of the character of nationalism. Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawn, among others, have argued that the nation is not an empirical reality but a modern "cultural artifact," an imaginary construct offering a sense of identity and belonging in a secular community.[3] Both scholars have emphasized the importance of language, print culture, and mass literacy in the construction, diffusion, and consolidation of nationhood, which in turn has prompted a number of literary critics to examine the contribution of literary texts to the process of nation formation.[4] I am indebted to this conception of the nation as "discursive formation" in that I examine how American writings on Italy's political events participated in the nation-building project. Following Anthony D. Smith's suggestion that there may have been an exaggerated focus on literature's function in the creation and narration of the nation, and that we ought to examine other forms of cultural expression as well, the narratives I examine range from written texts, mostly nonliterary, to drawings, paintings, and sculptures.[5]

Republican Lessons

American tales of the process of nation formation in Italy constantly emphasize its indebtedness to the American republican model, thus fashioning a flattering image of the United States as exercising a

powerful ideological influence over transatlantic territories. What follows is an examination of the rhetorical strategies employed to elevate America to the role of radiating center of democracy, including asserting that Italy's struggle against foreign tyranny had been inspired by the existence of freedom in America, describing Italian patriots as consciously replicating the actions of the American revolutionists and aiming at the foundation of a state modeled after the American republic, and representing Italians as confirming the American vision of the Risorgimento as derivative from the U.S. republican experience.

The notion that the Italians' very desire for freedom was triggered by the spectacle of its fulfillment in the United States characterizes American discourse on the political situation of Italy from the subjection of the country to Austria's rule in 1815 to the achievement of national independence and unity in 1870. James Sloane, who traveled in Italy shortly after the Congress of Vienna had reduced it to a colony in the Austrian empire, ascribed the rise of a liberal opposition in the Italian states to the knowledge of the existence of the American republic. He had found in the Italians an "insatiable curiosity . . . relative to the government of the United States." According to him, "the idea of an extensive country, flourishing and prosperous, to an eminent degree, in which hereditary monarchy, and an hereditary nobility are unknown," had been crucial to dispel the belief that these institutions were essential to the preservation of organized society. "It was easy to perceive," he wrote in the narrative of his trip, "how much the example of this country [the United States] had contributed to unsettle, especially in the more thinking classes of society, the ideas connected with reverence to nobility, and slavish obedience to kings."[6] More than half a century afterward, in 1870, Thomas Buchanan Read expressed the same belief in his poem "The Appian Way," composed when Rome was still a papal dominion but on the eve of its conquest by the army of the Kingdom of Italy. Read described the future capital of Italy as a slumbering city whose modern "shattered splendor" sadly contrasted with her past "grandeur." Although he had faith in the possibility of Rome's rebirth, for a time when he "may see her rise above her funeral urns, / And throw her long-worn sackcloth bravely by," yet he identified the instrument of this regeneration not in the Italian army that would breach the city's walls in a few months and put an end to Pius IX's reactionary government, but in a progressive force outside Italy. It is "from abroad" that "some chords of pleasure" will "bring messages

of progress, peace, and God!" to awaken Rome. And "abroad," of course, is America, whose celebration as the catalyst of global social advance, "the new-born nation, yet to be / The mother of a liberated world," occupies the final stanzas of the poem.[7] For Read, liberty and progress could only come to Italy from the west.

The explosion of revolutions against absolute monarchy that traversed Europe at midcentury was particularly liable to be read as a confirmation of the germinal effect of democracy in the United States. Liberal uprisings took place in every Italian state: Milan and Venice rebelled against Austrian rule, the Romans proclaimed a republic, the Tuscans chased out Grand Duke Leopold II, the Sicilians declared their independence from the government of Naples, and popular demonstrations induced Charles Albert of Sardinia and Ferdinand II of the Two Sicilies to offer constitutions to their subjects. American commentators confidently ascribed all of these events to the democratic example offered by their country. Travel writer and historian Joel Tyler Headley's popular essay "The One Progressive Principle" is a characteristic illustration of the conception of the United States as promoter of the global liberalization of political institutions. "Have you ever seen," he wrote, "an eagle fettered to the earth day after day and week after week? How his plumage droops, and his proud bearing sinks away into an expression of fear and humility." "But," he continued, "just let the free cry of a free eagle, seated on some far mountain crag, meet his ear, and how . . . those broad wings unfold themselves in their native strength, and with a cry as shrill and piercing as that of his fellow, he strains on his fetters, and perchance bursts away, soaring gloriously towards heaven." Since in American patriotic iconography the eagle is a symbol of the state, Headley's reader could not have failed to interpret the passage as a representation of the United States inviting other nations to rise against despotism, a message made explicit in the conclusion of the passage. "Our Declaration of Rights," wrote Headley, "was the cry of that free eagle on his mountain crag, and the fettered soul heard and answered it the world over, with a shout that rocked the thrones of Europe to their basis, and made the chain that bound it smoke and quiver beneath its angry blows." It is because of the realization of political freedom in America, he concluded, that "Italy sang once more her ancient songs of freedom, in the Roman Forum."[8] Like his contemporary Hamilton, but also like his predecessor Sloane and his successor Read, Headley conceived all struggles

for freedom as galvanized by the example of America—never as independent actions.

As described by Americans, the Risorgimento was not only triggered by the sight of successful republicanism in the United States but was consciously conducted as a replica of the American Revolution. In fact, narratives of liberal uprisings in Italy oftentimes stress those events that could be most easily reduced to a repetition of the actions of the insurgent American colonists. The strategies of resistance adopted by the American patriots are thus elevated to the status of archetypes for the carrying out of revolutions. No account of the insurrection of Milan against the Austrians in 1848, for instance, failed to mention that the Milanese people's first act of rebellion was to abstain from smoking to reduce Austria's revenues from taxes on tobacco—the similarity with the American insurgents' refusal to consume British tea was obvious and was dutifully stressed. Although it is historically accurate, as the American representative in Vienna, William H. Stiles, emphasized in his history of the revolt in Milan, that "a circular was distributed, in which the people were reminded that the Americans, as a prelude to the War of Independence, had refused to make use of tea brought them by the English, and in accordance with that example, all good citizens were enjoined to discard tobacco,"[9] Americans' insistence on the episode is a significant indication of their desire to represent revolutions abroad as a reenactment of their own. In fact, that the Italians were imitating the transatlantic revolutionists was asserted whenever they expressed their opposition to the government by boycotting state monopolies, including cases when the Italians themselves did not refer to any American antecedent. William Chauncy Langdon, for instance, who was minister of the American church in Rome when Piedmont's declaration of war against Austria awakened liberal feelings throughout the Italian peninsula, also stressed that the Romans' desertion of the state lotteries in 1859 was based on "the very principle of the Boston tea drinkers of old."[10] Thus, in Stiles's and Langdon's renditions of Italian revolutions, not only did Americans inspire Italians to rebel against despotism, but they also taught them how to do it.

American re-creations of the process of nation formation in Italy, moreover, described it as having as its ultimate goal the foundation of a state akin in its principles and institutions to the American republic. Nowhere is this more evident than in the self-congratulatory words of those who convened at the Academy of Music in New York on January 12, 1871, to

celebrate the annexation of Rome to the Kingdom of Italy, which signaled the completion of the territorial unification of the peninsula. According to one speaker, in rejecting despotic governments, "Italy [was] treading in those very footsteps which have brought us to where we stand." For another, the citizens of Rome, by choosing with a plebiscite to be ruled by Victor Emmanuel of Italy rather than Pius IX, had exercised the subjects' right to reject an oppressive sovereign and thus "declared themselves for our American principles." For yet another, in organizing itself as a "federated republican monarchy" ensuring both "local independence and national unity," that is, in decentralizing political authority, Italy had followed "the example of America." And in the resolutions approved by the assembly, the participants of the meeting expressed their general joy that the Italians, by annexing the Papal States to the national territory, had put an end to the temporal power of the popes and thus effectively separated state and church. Once again, Italy had supposedly emulated "the example of the United States."[11]

It is a celebration of America rather than revolutionary Italy that emerges from these representations of the Risorgimento as a historical development impelled by the existence of democracy in the United States, aiming at obtaining a similar reconfiguration of social life, and even conducted in ways reducible to the events of the American Revolution. Henry Adams's comments on Garibaldi's 1860 expedition to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in a letter to his brother Charles best exemplify the devaluation of the Italian revolutionary experience and, conversely, the exaltation of the American one that results from the reduction of Italy's political evolution to a byproduct of an antecedent historical development in the United States. "To us Americans," Adams wrote, "all these Italian troubles reduce themselves simply to a single process, by which one more of the civilized races is forming itself on the ground that we have always stood on, and taking up as its creed the same list of ideas that we have always declared to be the heart and soul of modern civilization."[12] The true hero of Adams's narrative and the body of American accounts of the Risorgimento to which it belongs is not Italy, but the United States, the powerful republican archetype capable of stimulating, guiding, and determining the course of liberal efforts abroad.

The vision of Italy as owing its political regeneration to the United States is further reinforced in American narratives of mid-nineteenth-century

Italy through representations of actual encounters between Italian patriots and American citizens. In these episodes, Italy's alleged ideological dependence on America is dramatized by staging Americans as revolutionary advisers of dutifully attentive and compliant Italian liberals. Among others, Hamilton, whose description of popular unrest in Italy as due to the galvanizing presence of democracy in America opens this chapter, depicted Italian liberals as eager to consult him on the demands they should make to their sovereigns. In the journal of his Roman stay in 1848, he reports that he "[had become] acquainted with some of those who were understood to be leading men in the popular movement, and from them learned much of their affairs and of what they complained." According to his account, he was asked by one of the Italians to give them advice on how to ameliorate the conditions of the pope's subjects. In his words, "I prepared for one of these gentlemen, at his request, a paper containing such measures of reform as they desired, and I thought necessary, in which I endeavored to impress upon them this view: 'That personal liberty . . . was the only true foundation of public liberty.' " In Hamilton's version of the events, the Roman patriots were so appreciative of his guidance that they recommended to the liberals in Naples, where Hamilton moved from Rome, that they also consult him in their struggle to obtain a constitution from Ferdinand II. He recounts that a Neapolitan gentleman came to see him and expressed "the hope that you will give us here the advantage of your advice in the measures we are now taking to overturn this government."[13] That the American citizen Hamilton should represent himself as the consultant of Italian liberals provides here a concrete illustration of the theory of America's tutorial role toward republicanism abroad. That the Italian patriots themselves should seek his advice, moreover, works as an effective confirmation of the vision of the United States as revered paragon of democracy.

The re-creation of the Italians' attitude toward U.S. democratic institutions is essential to the nationalistic intent of American accounts of the Risorgimento. The Italian patriots figured in these texts are, without exception, enthusiastic admirers of America. Protestant minister William Berrian, among others, wrote in the memoir of his travels to Europe in 1817 that a dealer of antiques in Milan, on learning that his customer was from the United States, "broke out into an animated eulogium" of the transatlantic republic and informed the author that America's "prosperity and freedom" were a "common subject of conversation" in the city's liberal

circles.[14] Essayist Henry T. Tuckerman told the readers of his 1848 *Italian Sketch Book* that he had met during his travels a young Neapolitan liberal who "spoke enthusiastically of Washington and Franklin."[15] And to cite yet another characteristic instance of alleged Italian reverence for American republicanism, Robert Wickliffe Jr., U.S. diplomatic representative to the Kingdom of Sardinia, wrote to James Buchanan in his report on the 1847 uprisings in Turin that the crowd of demonstrators in the streets saluted him with cries of "Evviva l'America! Evviva il ministro della grande repubblica!" ("Hail to America! Hail to the minister of the great republic!"). Wickliffe found the incident "very flattering to our country," as indeed are all American representations of the Italian attitude toward the United States.[16] In fact, the depiction of Italian liberals extolling democracy in America as the concrete realization of their political ideals functions to corroborate the celebration of the United States under process in American tales of revolutions abroad. Italians, with their eulogies of the American republic, provide evidence that the United States is indeed the admired inspirer and model of liberalism worldwide. The validation of America's republican prestige comes from its alleged pupils.

Fictions of National Identity

That the mid-nineteenth-century definition of the United States as point of origin of a global republican tradition is an instance of what Lauren Berlant has called the "fantasy-work of national identity" emerges clearly in the comparison, in a diachronic and national context, with previous competing definitions of America and, in a synchronic and international context, with contemporaneous images of Italy and America, respectively, created within Italian culture.[17] More specifically, the fictive nature of the definition of America as republican archetype is evident in the fact that it superseded and clashed with an older narrative constructing the nation not as initiator of a political tradition but as inheritor of the republicanism of ancient Rome. Unlike its rendition in American narratives, moreover, Italians characterized the process of nation formation in Italy not as a replica of the foundation of the American republic, toward which they often expressed serious reservations, but as a resurgence of their own classic and medieval republican past. Although this vision of the Risorgimento as

an autochthonous phenomenon is itself a form of nationalistic mythology, the international ideological roots of Italy's revolutions are European, not transatlantic, as American texts would have them.

While mid-nineteenth-century Americans celebrated their country as the origin of a global process of liberation, the eighteenth-century colonists who rebelled against Britain had characterized and legitimized their actions as a repetition of the highest moments of Roman republicanism. The tightening of British rule on the colonies was compared to Caesar's abrogation of liberty in Rome, and their rebellion against imperial power was equated with Brutus and Cassius's heroic murder of the tyrant. Insurgent America was likened to Cato Uticensis, who had committed suicide rather than see the republic turned into Caesar's dictatorship, and, in fact, Washington had Joseph Addison's play *Cato* performed at Valley Forge to embolden the exhausted revolutionary army to continue the fight against the British. Individual revolutionary leaders were also likened to prominent figures of republican Rome. Virginia politician Patrick Henry, one of the most outspoken proponents of national independence, was praised as an American Cicero. Washington was hailed first as a modern Fabius, the general who had defeated the superior force of Hannibal through a strategy of delay and harassment, and then as a Cincinnatus who would relinquish his power and return to his agricultural occupation once his duty toward the nation was accomplished.[18] The list of the analogies drawn between the events and protagonists of the American Revolution and the history and heroes of the Roman republic could continue, but the point is that this equation permitted the colonists to conceive of their rebellion against the center of the empire as a noble defense of liberty. In the terminology employed by Hobsbawm in his study of the function of "invented traditions" in the construction of nationhood, the early republic legitimized itself by "dressing up the present as antiquity," that is, by establishing a sense of continuity and similarity between itself and ancient Rome.[19] The newly proclaimed United States of America found in its self-ascribed identity as "new Rome" a powerful source of validation.

If the eighteenth-century republic was in need of a famous ancestor, the empire-building United States of the 1840s was not. The explosion of revolutions worldwide in the nineteenth century furnished the occasion for the formulation of a different narrative of national identity—one more flattering to a country that had extended its sway to the greatest part

of the North American continent. The struggles against colonial power in Latin America and against absolutism in Europe could be described as prompted by the American example, which in turn would make the United States the initiator of a republican tradition rather than merely the recipient of the legacy of Rome. Within reports of the liberal evolution of Italy, however, the memory of the definition of America as Rome's modern avatar—recited by nearly every American who walked through the ruins of the forum—was too powerful to allow the opposite characterization of the United States as republican archetype to go uncontested, and these texts often address and revise the previous narrative. In fact, the more insistent accounts of the Risorgimento are about Italy's ideological indebtedness to the United States, the more they attempt to distance America from Rome, often by focusing on the history of the empire rather than that of the republic.

It is in these terms that the issue of the relationship between the United States and Rome is addressed, among others, in Headley's "The One Progressive Principle." As we have seen, the essay participates in the textual fabrication of the new nation as germinal political prototype on which all other liberal contests are patterned. "When the Declaration of Independence was given to the world," Headley declares, "the character of all future struggles between man and his rulers became clearly defined." And again, "since the completion and fearless utterance of [our] code of freedom, the nations of the earth seem to have been hurried forward by some secret yet irresistible impulse." To posit America as first and influential manifestation of freedom, however, made it necessary to deny that Rome had been a model for the United States. Thus, the essay closes by setting America apart from Rome, which is no longer represented by a republican hero, but by the first of its absolute rulers. "Between Caesar and his legions, and Washington and his patriots," Headley states, "there is a difference wider than time." In this mid-nineteenth-century version of Roman history, intent on placing America at the inception of a new era, moreover, the Romans are no longer free citizens debating public issues in the forum, as they had been for the revolutionists, but an emperor's muted subjects. In Headley's words, "The proud Roman had no idea of personal worth. . . . Holding the proud rank of Roman citizen, he could confront kings without being abashed; but in Rome he was a slave. Under the shadows of the Palatine Hill, he walked silent and fearful."[20] Rome's republican phase was erased

and its imperial one emphasized so that America could conceive of itself as the first realization of republicanism.

Headley's refutation of the tradition linking America to Rome is not an isolated instance. Similar assessment of the difference between the ancient Italian republic and the new transatlantic one are found in other accounts of the Risorgimento, for instance, in Charles Edward Lester's *My Consulship* (1853). Lester was the American consul in Genoa in the 1840s, and his memoirs comment extensively on the political life of Italy during that decade, especially the events that took place in Rome between the election of the liberal pope Pius IX in 1846 and the revolutionary outburst of 1848. Like Headley, Lester believed in the capability of the American Revolution to alter the course of historical development in a progressive direction. He pronounced the founding of the United States "the mightiest and the most important change that has ever happened in the civil history of mankind." Capable of exerting its influence beyond its geographical boundaries, the new state was also unprecedented. "No nations," Lester asserted, "have preceded us that we very much resemble: and no very striking analogy can be traced between the origin and the history of the United States, and the origin and the history of any other people." Such an assertion of uniqueness begged for a confrontation with the vision of the United States as reenactment of Rome, whose accuracy Lester denied. "We find nothing comparable with it [the American Revolution]," he states, "in the rise and fall of ancient empires. Neither the existence nor the fall of Rome was attended by any approximate—perhaps by no final results of such incalculable moment."[21] Once again, the definition of America as republican archetype entailed the disavowal of its previous characterization as inheritor of a classical republican tradition.[22] The rewriting of America's national identity that took place in American narratives of the Italian revolutions thus brings to the fore the constructed nature and historical contingency of national identity itself.

At the same time as the American witnesses of the process of nation formation in Italy were describing it as derivative from the American Revolution, Italians envisioned it as the renewal of a domestic tradition of political freedom and national independence. As the word chosen to designate the events leading to national unity and independence, *risorgimento,* suggests, Italian intellectuals saw them as a "resurgence" or "resurrection" in modern times of Italy as it had already been in the past, rather than

as signs of a new political entity indebted to transnational developments. The artists of the first half of the nineteenth century, several of whom were also directly involved in the struggle for the unification of Italy under a liberal government, stirred their audiences with images of Italy's ancient glory and celebrated the patriotic struggles of their times as a reenactment of the nation's past. Italy's history was ransacked for examples of victorious rebellions against tyranny domestic and foreign, and these episodes were translated into a myriad of historical novels, paintings, and dramas whose intent was patriotic rather than belletristic.[23]

The past whose reenactment nineteenth-century Italy configured itself could be as remote as the Roman republic, as in the case of most representations of the democratic interlude of 1848–49 (fig. 2), but also the more recent Middle Ages, when the northern Italian commons successfully opposed the expansionist designs of the German emperors and the Sicilians chased out the French invaders, or the Renaissance, when several of Italy's city-states rose against their tyrants. Giuseppe Verdi, whose operas diffused the thematics of the Risorgimento among a widely illiterate population, drew from Italy's Middle Ages for several of his early works, including *La battaglia di Legnano,* a dramatization of the victory of the Lombard League over German emperor Frederick I in 1176, and *I vespri siciliani* (1853), centered on the Sicilians' rebellion against the oppressive rule of Charles d'Anjou of France in 1282, a favorite subject of several liberal artists. The Sicilians of 1860 who joined Garibaldi's expedition to free southern Italy from the domination of the Spanish Bourbons thought of themselves as repeating the feats of their ancestors and, according to contemporary records, sang arias from Verdi's *Vespri* during the revolution. Among the most noticeable patriotic evocations of Italian sixteenth-century history are the works of Massimo D'Azeglio, a moderate liberal and prime minister of the Kingdom of Sardinia in the early 1850s, who celebrated the early political insurrections of 1830 with a painting, *La disfida di Barletta* (1831), and a historical novel, *Ettore Fieramosca* (1833), on the renowned victory of a team of Italian knights over a team of Frenchmen during the otherwise successful Italian campaign of Charles VIII of France. Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi, a democrat and leader of the revolt against Leopold II of Tuscany in 1848, evoked in his novel *L'assedio di Firenze* (1836) another illustrious moment from the chronicles of sixteenth-century Italy, namely, the strenuous defense of the people of Florence, who had chased

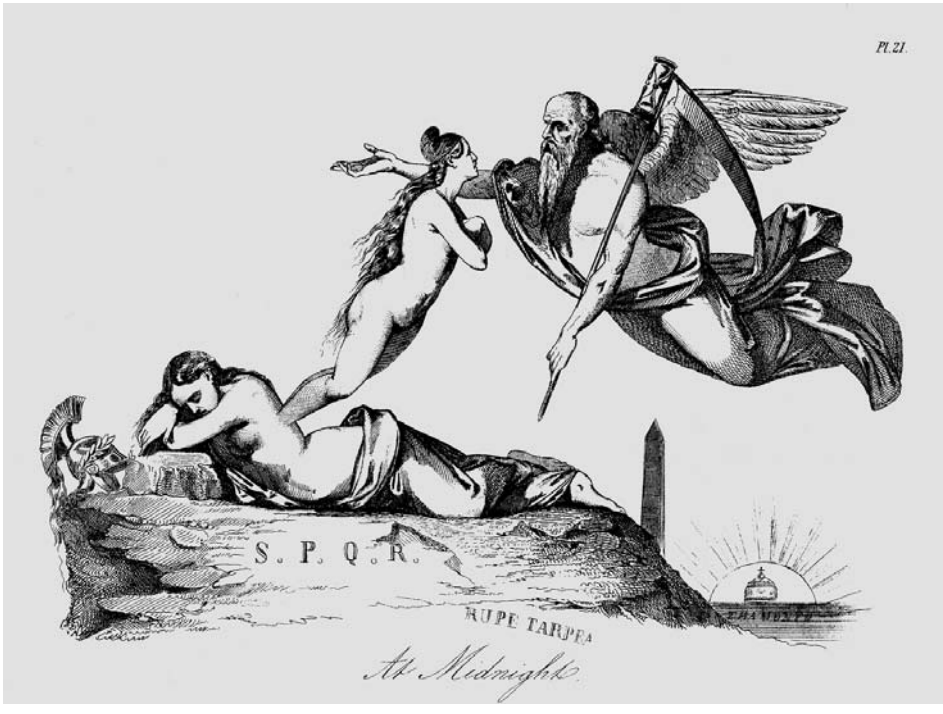


FIGURE 2. At Midnight, *from Gino Daelli,* A Relic of the Italian Revolution of 1849 *(New Orleans, ca. 1853). This rendition of the proclamation of the Roman republic on 9 February 1849 alludes to the Judeo-Christian creation myth, depicting Mazzini's new democracy as a woman formed from a rib of ancient Rome, a clear indication of the sense of continuity between present and past felt by Italian liberals.*

out the Medicis and proclaimed a republic, against the Spanish emperor Charles V's attempts to conquer the city and restore its rulers.

Occasionally, nineteenth-century Italian liberals found subjects capable of inspiring their fight for independence in more recent events—for instance, in the rebellion of the people of Genoa against the Austrians in 1746, started when a boy threw a stone at an Austrian army official who had tried to compel the Genovese to help his soldiers move a heavy piece of artillery. Mazzini saw in the episode a true instance of the people's will for freedom, and the Ligurian liberals celebrated the anniversary of the insurrection with fires on the mountains north of Genoa (fig. 3). While the works mentioned here are representative rather than exhaustive of the

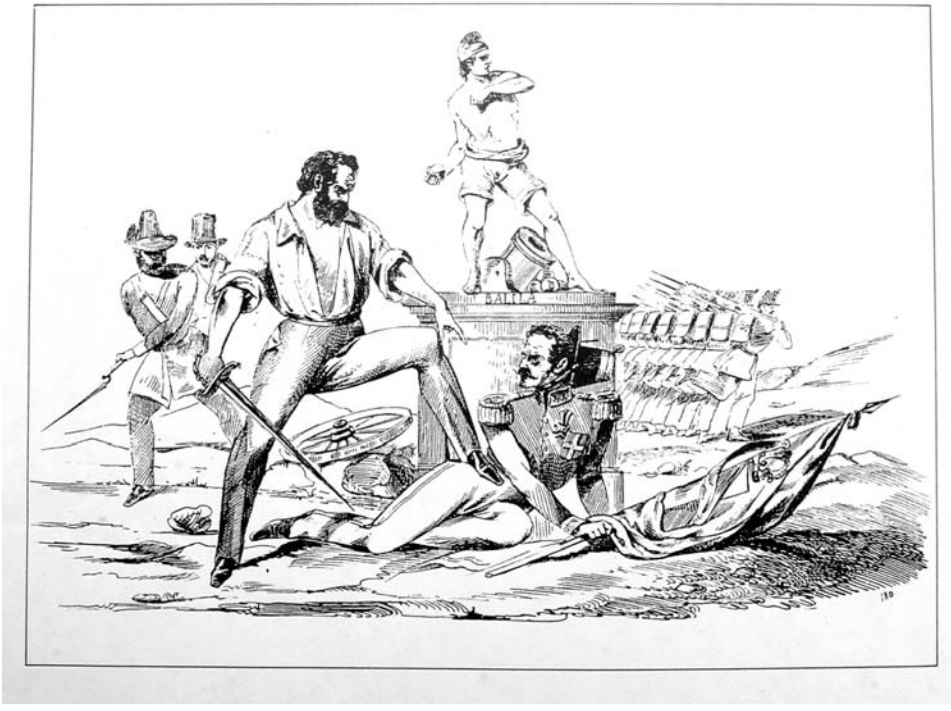


FIGURE 3. *Untitled, ca. 1850. This anonymous print representing the Italians' rebellion against the Austrians in 1849 alludes to the 1746 insurrection led by Balilla. The commemorative statue in the background conveys the inspirational value that event had for the patriots who fought against the Austrians in Milan, Venice, and Florence a century later.*

nationalistic project of recovery and commemoration of local history that took place in nineteenth-century Italy, they clearly indicate that Italian patriots found inspiration for their struggle not in the American present but in their own past. As late-nineteenth-century Italian poet Giovanni Pascoli wrote in his "Inno secolare a Mazzini" about the revolutionary iconography of the democrats—all eagles, fasces, and daggers—"tutto era antico" in Mazzini's 1849 republic.[24] And, I would add, not only was every symbol of Italy's nationalistic struggle "ancient," but strictly domestic, too.

Although Italian intellectuals, as we have seen, identified the cultural and social roots of Italy's struggle for political and social freedom in the

country's own tradition of republican independence, it would not be accurate to describe the Risorgimento solely in these terms. Far from being a purely aboriginal development, as nationalist patriotic propaganda would describe it, the Risorgimento was culturally and politically indebted to a transnational context, though to a European rather than a transatlantic one. Its basic tenets—the notion of the right of individual ethnic or cultural groups to free themselves from the control of supranational empires, the configuration of the state as a largely lay structure of authority, and the reconceptualization of authority as entailing duties toward the governed rather than rights over them—are those of English and French Enlightenment thought and German romantic political theory. In other words, the ideological foundations of Italian nationalism were imported from abroad and then adapted to the particularities of the Italian situation.

Early-twentieth-century philosopher and historian Benedetto Croce expressed the notion of the intellectual debt of the Risorgimento to the transalpine cultural world in his statement that Italy's freedom was born with the interest for "libri e cose inglesi e francesi," that is, for "books and matters of England and France."[25] Even without the desire to conceive of the Risorgimento as a purely intellectual process, as Croce does, it is indisputable that the conquest of Italy on the part of the French army in the aftermath of the revolution of 1789 and the institution of republics throughout the peninsula during the so-called Jacobin triennium from 1796 to 1799 had an enormous impact on the political conscience of the Italians, as did the institution of a secular, uniform, and centralized administrative organization that took place later on under Napoleon's aegis. Thus, Italian nationalism cannot be described as a purely local, autonomous phenomenon, but needs instead to be situated within the more general cultural and social European context to which it was indebted. As historian Luigi Salvatorelli put it in his classic 1943 study on the topic, the Risorgimento must be understood as a combination of "nova et vetera," both a "recommencement" and "resumption of the past" and a "reunion and conjunction of Italy with the rest of Europe," a "return to the general course of European civilization and to the general direction of political and social life in Europe."[26]

If the Risorgimento has an important international dimension, and if to describe it otherwise is to participate in the articulation of an Italian nationalistic mythology, the boundaries of such dimension do not project beyond

Europe to any considerable extent. True, the events that led to the institution of a republic in the North American continent were well known to Italian intellectuals, some of whom even recorded them in major historical works, for instance, Carlo Botta's *Storia della Guerra di Indipendenza degli Stati Uniti* (1809) and Giuseppe Compagnoni's *Storia d'America* (1821–23). In fact, in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, with revolutionary, republican France turned into the center of Napoleon's own expanding empire, Italian liberals did look at the United States as the one democracy that had not been destroyed by the forces of reaction. Still, America remained for Italian liberal culture, in the words of historian Piero Bairati, "un esile mito, non una realtà attiva e operante," a "myth" rather than an "operative reality"—that latter role being played instead, for instance, by revolutionary uprisings in France, which regularly triggered similar insurrections in the Italian peninsula.[27]

Starting with the 1830s, moreover, while the notion of the U.S. role in the political renovation of the world became central to American nationalist ideology, Italian liberalism, both moderate and radical, articulated severe critiques of American democracy. For the right, supportive of a benign and reformist constitutional monarchy, the United States was simply too democratic. Federico Confalonieri, a Milanese nobleman who had long been incarcerated because of his anti-Austrian activities and who toured the United States in 1837 after his release, wrote that "le principe démocratique y dévient chaque jour trop fort, trop dominant."[28] D'Azeglio agreed with Confalonieri's evaluation of the democratic excesses of the American republic and described it as under the sway of a "despotismo dal basso," an absolutism of the people.[29]

The republican left, on the other hand, accused the American republic of having failed to reform old social structures. Mazzini criticized the American government for its laissez-faire social policies, that is, for still conceiving of state power in terms of authority over the citizens rather than responsibility toward them. The other major leader of the Italian left, Filippo Buonarroti, whose republicanism had socialist undertones, censured the United States for having merely substituted a bourgeois aristocracy of money for the traditional European aristocracy of blood—for being "a feudal regime clothed in democratic forms."[30] Moderates and radicals alike, moreover, were appalled by the presence of slavery in a country that declared itself the land of freedom. The moderates used the existence of human bondage

in the United States as an argument against democracy as a mode of social organization superior to monarchy, and the republicans agreed that American slavery was an embarrassment to the cause of freedom worldwide. Thus, American republicanism, described in American accounts of the Risorgimento as central to Italy's revolutionary experience, was in fact not only marginal to it but also subjected to severe critiques.

Certainly, on the relatively few occasions when Italian liberals addressed the issue of the ideological relation between revolutionary Italy and the postrevolutionary United States, it was not one of dependency. The iconography of the bonds of the Alleanza Repubblicana Universale, Mazzini's worldwide organization of republicans, which he attempted to extend to the United States around 1865, suggests that Italians inverted American narratives and proposed Italy rather than America as the initiator of a global movement for freedom. The bond (fig. 4), intended to gather funding for the alliance in the United States, represents America receiving the banner of the organization from Italy, that is, as agreeing to participate in a project of global liberation originating outside its boundaries. In this Italian version of freedom's progress, in other words, liberty's radiating epicenter is Italy itself. In fact, it is Italy that wears the badge of freedom par excellence, the Phrygian cap. It is above the figure representing Italy, moreover, that the word "Libertà" stands inscribed, as opposed to the word "Associazione"—indicating the act of joining a preexisting entity rather than founding it—written over the figure of America. Still on Italy's side are the means to obtain freedom, "pensiero" (a theory of government) and "azione" (action to implement it). In this Italian vision of Italian and American republicanism, the ideology and practice of freedom originate in Italy and are then accepted by the United States, not the other way round.

That Americans configured the Risorgimento as inspired by their political institutions and that such configurations remained confined to America's nationalistic mythology, unknown to its alleged transatlantic pupils, found an interesting confirmation in the context of the 1861 Esposizione Nazionale in Florence, a major art exhibit organized to celebrate the unification of Italy under Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia in the city that was to be capital of the new kingdom until the conquest of Rome a decade afterward. The American sculptor Hiram Powers, who had lived and worked in Florence since 1837, participated in the exhibition with his *America* (fig. 5). Powers had started working on the statue around 1848 and originally

FIGURE 4. *Bond for the Alleanza Repubblicana Universale, ca. 1865. In this Italian rendition of domestic and American republicanism, liberty flows from Italy toward the United States, thus countering the myth of America as the epicenter of freedom.*

intended it to be a celebration of the principle of liberty for which so many of the peoples of Europe were fighting at the time. The general failure of the revolutions of midcentury, however, induced him to abandon his original conception and opt for a representation not of freedom in general but of America as freedom. Thus, the statue, which steps on manacles, the emblem of despotism, and rests on fasces garnered by laurel, symbols of unity and victory, respectively, also wears a diadem with thirteen stars to represent the original thirteen states. Powers's private correspondence from 1849, moreover, suggests that he intended his statue to have a didactic function, namely to show Italians that they needed to follow the example of America, which he describes as "the only and glorious republic of the world . . . the light and hope of mankind," and they had to unite in order to succeed in their struggle against foreign domination.[31] The works of Italian artists that surrounded *America* at the Esposizione Nazionale and celebrated the achievement of the unification of Italy, however, were historical paintings that, as we have seen, represented modern Italy as having replicated the deeds not of the thirteen colonies but of the Italian republics of the past. Next to *America* stood, for instance, Stefano Ussi's *La cacciata del duca*

FIGURE 5. *Hiram Powers,* America, *1848–50, plaster, 89 1/8 × 35 1/8 × 16 7/8 in., Smithsonian American Art Museum, museum purchase in memory of Ralph Cross. Powers intended his statue, exhibited in Florence in 1861, to show Italians that they needed to follow the example of the United States and unite if they wanted to defeat the enemies of Italian nationhood.*

d'Atene, a depiction of the expulsion from Florence of the French dictator Walter de Brienne in 1343. Powers's statue was thus alone in suggesting that the catalyst of the unification of Italy might be the new transatlantic republic. Indeed, the idea that the United States could in any way be involved with Italian freedom was so alien to the Italians' political worldview that Pietro Ferrigni, an art critic who reported on the exhibit, misread Powers's statue for an image of Italy trampling on her chains.[32] America, placed at the center of foreign revolutionary movements by Powers and his contemporaries, thus was inadvertently relegated to their periphery by the foreign revolutionists, who, outside the boundaries of the American nationalistic imaginary, were far from respectful republican pupils.

Revolutionary Failures

Although they constructed Italians as prompted to fight for political and social progress by the example set by the United States, Americans also declared them incapable of either obtaining or preserving the freedom that the colonies had won and the republic had maintained for three quarters of a century. In American commentaries on the Risorgimento, the Italians' efforts to free their country from foreign domination or to obtain fundamental civic rights from their sovereigns are at best ineffectual, of no actual practical consequence, or ruinous, leading to the destruction of organized society rather than its reconfiguration. Most American commentators concluded their overviews of the Italian political situation with the statement that Italians were not ready for freedom, a contention that the modalities of their characterization of the Italian insurgents, infantilization and feminization, implicitly support. Although the American re-creation of Italian revolutions as anarchic episodes could no doubt be read as a symptom of the elite's apprehension at the explosion of collective violence—between immigrants and nativists, free blacks and whites, workers and their employers—which characterized the United States between the 1830s and the 1850s, what follows focuses on the function of negative representations of foreign liberalism for the articulation of an exalted definition of American national identity. As we will see, the depiction of Italians as unfit for republicanism offered a solution to the tension between, on one hand, the vision of America as "redeemer nation," destined

to democratize the world through example and thereby transform other countries in its own image, and, on the other hand, the equally appealing notion of America as "exceptional," forever different from and superior to all other nations.[33]

The description of the Venetians' opposition to Austrian domination that opens William Dean Howells's *Venetian Life* (1866) is representative of the rendition of the Italians' political struggles as inconsequential. Howells was sent to Venice as American consul in 1861, in the aftermath of the unification of Italy under the Kingdom of Sardinia.[34] Venice and its hinterland remained the only portion of the Italian peninsula controlled by Austria, and the Venetians deeply resented their subjection to a foreign power. To express their opposition to the government, liberal Venetians restrained from social interaction with the occupying Austrian army as well as from the celebration of traditional festivities and any other activity, including frequenting the opera and entertaining in one's house, that might suggest that the people of Venice could enjoy themselves when not free. Howells's account of these forms of passive resistance, for instance, his meticulous report of the rules governing the Venetians' presence in the Piazza San Marco that follows, has clear ironic undertones: "It is in the Piazza that the tacit demonstration of hatred and discontent chiefly takes place. Here, thrice a week, in winter and summer, the military band plays that exquisite music for which the Austrians are famous. The selections are usually from Italian opera, and the attraction is the hardest of all others for the music-loving Italian to resist. But he does resist it. . . . As a general thing, they [the Venetians] pass from the Piazza as the music begins, and walk upon the long quay at the sea-side of the Ducal Palace; or if they remain in the Piazza they pace up and down under the arcades on each side; for Venetian patriotism makes a delicate distinction between listening to the Austrian band in the Piazza and hearing it under the Procuratie, forbidding the first and permitting the last. As soon as the music ceases the Austrians disappear, and the Italians return to the Piazza."

At times, Howells's narrative of the patriotic strategies of the Venetians moves from irony to downright censure, as in the case of his overview of the Comitato Veneto, a secret organization working to promote the annexation of Venetia to the newly established Kingdom of Italy. "The functions of the Comitato," he writes, "are multiplied and various. It takes care that on all patriotic anniversaries (such as that of the establishment of the

Republic in 1848, and that of the union of the Italian States under Victor Emmanuel in 1860) salutes shall be fired in Venice, and a proper number of red, white, and green lights displayed. It inscribes revolutionary sentiments on the walls; and all attempts on the part of the Austrians to revive popular festivities are frustrated by the Committee, which causes petards to be exploded in the Place of St. Mark, and on the different promenades. Even the churches are not exempt from these demonstrations: I was present at the Te Deum performed on the Emperor's birthday, in St. Mark, when the moment of elevating the host was signaled by the bursting of a petard in the center of the cathedral. All this, which seems of questionable utility, and worse than questionable taste, is approved by the fiercer of the Italianissimi." As described by Howells, the Venetians' boycott of the city's life, which in fact had a very real and ruinous effect on an economy already heavily dependent on tourism, is a futile mock war fought with inappropriate, almost indecorous, weapons in inappropriate spaces—a war of petards and graffiti rather than cannon balls, conducted in unattended theaters and deserted squares rather than battlefields. The final words of Howells's description of Venice's political life reiterate his assessment of the city's modes of resistance as ineffectual. "They [the Venetians] can do nothing of themselves," he writes, "but they seem content to wait forever in their present gloom."[35] The people's abstinence from social life is here summed up as "nothing," lack of action rather than action—at most a form of endurance of an unaltered situation.

Henry Adams, who had traveled through Italy only a year before Howells's arrival in Venice and had written extensively about his experiences to his family, largely shared the older writer's perception of the Italians' patriotism as unproductive. Adams was in central Italy at the time of the Franco-Italian war against Austria, whose declaration led the central states to proclaim the power of their sovereigns null and request to be annexed to Sardinia. In a letter to his brother Charles, Adams described the enthusiasm for the war of independence led by the Piedmontese king evinced by the population of Romagna, the region of the Papal States that rebelled against the authority of Pius IX and declared its allegiance to Victor Emmanuel instead. Like Howells's description, Adams's account is veined with irony. The war had neither been fought nor won yet, but the "cross of Savoy," emblem of the king of Sardinia, was already "everywhere"; the "tricolor, red, white, and green," the banner that had symbolized the aspiration to national unity

since the Congress of Vienna, was "flying out of shop-windows and on public buildings"; and the "National-Guardists," members of the civilian army, were "strutting about" in a "magnificent independence" still to be conquered. It is on the army, "a sort of cross between militia and regulars," that Adams's amused gaze exercises itself the most. "All the soldiers I saw," he writes, "officers or privates, seemed to me to be trying to look military; they had their beards artistically arranged to look ferocious; their caps a shade too much on one side; their salute was a shade too formal or too informal; their walk a continual effort to do it right; their waists laced very nicely and tight enough, but not exactly the thing." Allegedly engaged in parading their "pretty" uniforms and "charmingly bright" epaulettes, these soldiers should be fighting instead, and Adams concludes that he is "sorry to see such tom-foolery where they ought to feel what their real duties are."[36] Once again, the Italians' patriotism is somewhat misplaced, with rejoicing taking place before the victory is gained and soldiers walking city promenades rather than battlefields.

As Adams traveled south to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which in 1860 was being invaded by an army of volunteers led by Giuseppe Garibaldi, and encountered actual popular uprisings and military actions, however, his reports of Italian revolutions acquired darker connotations. The people's hatred for their oppressors was no longer unproductive as in the display of banners and uniforms he had seen in Romagna, but was disquieting and suggestive of a violence that would move beyond rightful rebellion against tyranny and would become itself a mode of oppression. In Adams's depiction, the insurgents in Palermo, with their "cutlasses and dirks . . . tied over [the] shoulders with twine" and their costumes "very suggestive of brigands and cut-throats," are themselves objects of fear, almost villains rather than heroes. In fact, this American tale of revolutions in southern Italy focuses not on the crimes of a sovereign whose cruelty against his subjects was renowned but on the people's brutality against the representatives of the old government. Leaving Sicily for Naples, at the time still under the control of the Bourbons, Adams observed that among those who boarded his ship were soldiers and policemen who had served under Ferdinand II and feared the revenge of the insurgents. He explained that "if they were accidentally caught, the Sicilian mob is not gentle, and they might find themselves skinned alive, or going through some other process of the kind." Adams had been told by an American officer that one of the "sbirri," as the

king's police was called, had been murdered and left "lying in the middle of the street, his head cut off and put between his legs and a cigar stuck in his mouth." Rather than victims fighting for their rights, the insurgents were, in Adams's view, a "brutal and savage crowd."[37]

That the pursuit of liberty degenerated into gratuitous explosions of violence and eventually into anarchy is the contention of several American accounts of revolutionary episodes in Italy. William H. Stiles, American diplomatic representative in Vienna and author of a voluminous history of the midcentury uprisings in the Austrian empire, described the 1848 insurrection of the people of Venice against the occupying Austrian army as a carnage rather than a glorious battle for freedom. His account of the killing of the officer presiding over the city's arsenal by an "infuriated mob" is representative of the character of his narrative: "The unfortunate man stood at the top of the stairs with two pistols and a drawn sword. Seeing that resistance was useless, he asked his pursuers if they 'desired to take him alive or dead.' 'Alive' was the immediate reply; and one seized his sword, a second struck him on his face, and a third, with a pointed weapon, ran him through the body. He fell to the door, and was dragged down stairs, his head striking each step in his descent. Forming a circle around him in the yard, they seemed to enjoy the last agonies of this slowly dying man. His body was pierced through with innumerable wounds, inflicted with instruments purposely selected, it was said, to mangle the flesh more hideously." According to Stiles, moreover, the republic established in Venice upon the massacre of the Austrians was the realm of disorder, which, using a common device of antirevolutionary propaganda, he rendered through images of sexual license, implying the destruction of basic familial units of control and transmission of property. Thus, for instance, his version of the rift between the democratic city of Venice and the more conservative provinces of the hinterland, which favored annexation to the Kingdom of Sardinia rather than the formation of an independent republic, included hordes of "vagabonds," "artists," and "females of the most dissolute character" invading the mainland under the pretext of defending it from the Austrians, but in fact to loot it. Analogously, he ascribed the epidemics that devastated Venice during the city's long summer siege by the Austrians to the people's promiscuity. "Vices," he writes, "practiced at first with some attempt at concealment, arrived, at length, at such a pitch of barefaced extravagance that observation was rather courted than shunned. The scenes which

polluted the hospitals at Rome were repeated at Venice. Fever and disease of all sorts were the result, and much of the subsequent mortality attributed to the cholera was the natural effect of intemperance and debauchery."[38]

Thomas Nast, an American artist who joined Garibaldi's expedition in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies as a foreign reporter and sold his drawings of the campaign to periodicals in the United States and Britain, also employed images of sexual irregularity to express his censure of the revolution.[39] When his sketch *Street Scene in Naples the Day after the Arrival of Garibaldi* (fig. 6), representing a parade of supporters of the revolutionary cause, was published in the *Illustrated London News* on 29 September 1860, it was accompanied by a brief article that disparagingly described the enthusiasm of the Neapolitans as the "political carnival" of an "insane multitude . . . prey to a Bacchanalian fury."[40] Indeed, it is as a society in disarray that Nast chose to represent Naples in the aftermath of its liberation from the Bourbons' tyranny. The young woman at the center of the sketch walks arm in arm with one of Garibaldi's volunteers. And she is guilty of more than a public display of sexual intimacy. In fact, her military hat and the dagger she rather threateningly holds are a form of cross-dressing, a usurpation of masculine attire and attitudes in complete opposition to the code regulating female behavior.[41] She has, moreover, covered her gown with patriotic ribbons, thus transforming her dress into a declaration of her political stance. The same is true of the older woman leading the procession, whose apron, normally a piece of clothing worn within the house and for the performance of household duties, is now embroidered with the countenance of General Garibaldi and thus serves a public rather than domestic function. The banner of the king of Italy that she carries is a symbol of order ironically waving over a society turned upside down, where women have moved from the private world of domesticity to the public world of war and politics.[42] And in the case of the latter woman, the ugliness of her features is a clear indication of the artist's censure of her conduct.

Other American commentators who did not employ Stiles's and Nast's narratives of sexual license to describe a situation of social confusion explicitly declared that anarchy had followed the subversion of Italy's reactionary sovereigns. For Lewis Cass Jr., a diplomat stationed in Rome during the republic, the city was in the hands of "vagabonds, robbers, and plunderers."[43] Nathaniel Niles, the American representative in the Kingdom of Sardinia, similarly argued that "society in the very center of the Christian

THE REVOLUTION IN NAPLES.—STREET SCENE IN NAPLES THE DAY AFTER THE ARRIVAL OF GARIBALDI.—FROM A SKETCH BY T. NAST.—SEE SUPPLEMENT, PAGE 296.

FIGURE 6. *Thomas Nast,* Street Scene in Naples the Day after the Arrival of Garibaldi, *from the* Illustrated London News, *29 September 1860. Nast expressed his censure of the revolutions in southern Italy through images of sexual misconduct.*

world is reduced to a state of perfect dissolution" and that "anarchy now reign[s] triumphantly in Rome."[44] His report on the situation in Tuscany, where the grand duke had been deposed, is again that "anarchy, terror, and violence of every kind have prevailed in Florence and Leghorn."[45] And a decade afterward, writing from Naples after Garibaldi's conquest of the city, another American diplomat, J. R. Chandler, was to severely condemn the general's decision to offer a pension to the family of a patriot executed for the attempted murder of King Ferdinand II as, once again, an invitation to disorder. In his words, "Never before had 'revolution' in any country arrived at such a degree of perversity and anarchy. To canonize as holy the regicide, to reward publicly the assassin, to excite officially with such an example the extermination of sovereigns, never before has this been done."[46]

That Chandler should put the word "revolution" in quotation marks when he applies it to the events in southern Italy in 1860 suggests that he

did not consider them to amount to his vision of a "real" revolution. For American observers of the Risorgimento, the revolution par excellence, one fought for legitimate reasons and with legitimate means, as well as followed by the establishment of a stable and just government, was their own war of independence against England. The disparity between the insurrection in Italy and a revolution written without quotation marks, then, is described in terms of differences between the conduct of the Italian patriots and that of their American predecessors three quarters of a century before. Negative comparisons between the Italian revolutionary wars and the American colonies' rebellion are a constant of U.S. commentary on the political vicissitudes of nineteenth-century Italy. Such a juxtaposition is present, for instance, in an 1849 review of the revolutions in northern Italy published in the *New Englander,* which censured the Milanese for debating their political future, namely, whether they should form a republic or be annexed to the Kingdom of Sardinia, after they had chased the Austrians from the city but before having obtained a decisive victory over the enemy. The article first equates the revolution in Italy with the revolution in America by stating that "the objects of the Italian patriots were the same as those of the American Revolution, INDEPENDENCE and UNION: to free Italy from the Austrian yoke, and then to unite in a closer league the different Italian states." Then it radically contrasts them: "When our fathers were fighting against England for independence," writes the anonymous author, "they did not stop to think of anything else till that was secured. But the Italians began to quarrel among themselves about their form of government, and who should be at the head, before they had made it certain by their valor that they would be at liberty to choose their own masters."[47]

An essay that appeared in the *North American Review* in the same year, a detailed account of insurrections that had taken place in the Papal States since 1815, is characterized by a similar pattern of opposition. The writer reflects on how often revolts involving a population "at least equal, probably much superior, to that of the United States, as it was at the beginning of our Revolutionary war" had been quelled through the intervention of "a mere handful of Austrian soldiers" and concludes that "the Italians . . . are willing to be free, they can protest loudly against the tyranny of the rulers, and can form endless conspiracies against them. But they have not energy and patriotism enough to combine and make a manly fight for freedom." What follows is a reference to an antithetical episode from the American

Revolution, when a few colonists succeeded in defeating a much stronger British army. "General Howe," declares the article, "had as large a force under him, when he was besieged in Boston by insurgent New England, as sufficed to put down the whole insurrection in central Italy."[48] Yet another text on the revolutions of 1848, Protestant minister William Ware's account of his travels, *Sketches of European Capitals* (1851), similarly opposes the martial spirit of the American colonists with the effeminacy of modern Italian liberals. Whereas most Italians would not go beyond those ineffective manifestations of patriotism that Ware dabs a "mimic war which can be so safely enjoyed in glorious uniforms with opera bands of music up and down the streets of the capital," Americans had rushed to the battlefield. "In the opening of our revolution," writes Ware, "there was no beating up of recruits, but the people, of their own movement, covered Lexington and Bunker Hill with their blue flocks—anticipating all formal declarations of war."[49]

Italy's revolutionary failures are thus always described in terms of the gap between the conduct of the Italians and that of the American revolutionists and in terms of the former's inability to imitate the latter. And because they could not imitate their predecessors fully, Italians could not have the republican institutions reserved to those who fought efficiently, orderly, and courageously. It is precisely as the incapacity to re-create American republicanism that John Rowan, a diplomat stationed in Naples, described the political deficiencies of the Italians in an 1849 dispatch to Secretary of State James Buchanan. In his words, "the Italian people, unable to comprehend the principle which binds our Country, in a union of peace, power, & prosperity, seem unsuited to the reception of Democratic Institutions. In every place where a republic has been established, it has been preceded by acts of violence and crime, & however repugnant to our idea of freedom, the march of Austrian troops into Italy may be, the friends of good order see no other means of being protected from the plunder of Ephemeral bodies assuming the reigns of Government."[50]

Assertions to the effect that republicanism was unsuitable for Italy appear often in American reports on the Risorgimento. For Henry T. Tuckerman, whose *Italian Sketch Book* contains a lengthy narrative on the violent popular demonstrations that took place in 1837 in Sicily during a deadly epidemic of cholera, the "unfitness of the mass for the boon of self-government" was in Italy "appallingly obvious."[51] Protestant minister

Robert Turnbull, author of a travel book entitled *The Genius of Italy* (1849), declared of Venice, which at the time of his travels had just rebelled against the Austrians, that "as to a permanent republic there, or in any other part of Italy, for the present, we fear we must give it up. It is one thing to make fine speeches, or even to achieve revolutions; another to lay the foundations of a free and enduring commonwealth."[52] Joel Tyler Headley, the most renowned popular historian of nineteenth-century America, asserted in an extensive essay titled "Pope Pius IX and Italy," a confutation of the popular notion that the pope would become the leader of a liberal, if not democratic, movement, that "an attempt at once to establish a republic in Rome would be the height of madness. The people are not fit for it, any more than the people of Mexico or South America."[53] The dispatches of American diplomats in Italy to Washington repeat similar negative evaluations of the Italians' civic virtue. From revolutionary Rome, Cass reported that "with every predilection in favor of a republic, and sympathizing warmly with a people striving for it, I confess to entertain the opinion that it cannot exist for any length of time in Italy."[54] From Turin, Niles echoed that "all attempts to found a republic in the Roman states or in any other part of Italy must fail."[55] And from Naples, a decade afterward, Chandler, fearing that southern Italy might opt to become an independent republic rather than be annexed to the Kingdom of Italy, expressed his concern that "the whole work of reformation [might] be jeopardized by impractical ideas of consolidated republicanism, an idea which in Italy is worse than Utopian."[56]

The alleged unfitness of Italians to be republican citizens, explicitly stated in the passages just quoted, was indirectly reasserted and corroborated through modes of representation of Italian liberals that in fact functioned to disfranchise them. No reader of American accounts of the Risorgimento can fail to notice that the Italians are often compared to or represented as women and, more commonly, children. Within the Western patriarchal worldview, which values masculinity over femininity and adulthood over childhood, and whose foundational principles are, in Kate Millet's classic definition, that "male shall dominate female, elder male shall dominate younger," to be described as being "like a child" or "like a woman" entails being disempowered.[57] In the case of American descriptions of Italian patriotism, the negative connotations of such comparisons were political. Since in nineteenth-century America full republican citizenship was an exclusionary category, membership in which required the

possession, among other qualifications, of a male and adult body, to depict Italians as women and children amounted to barring them from the group of those deemed capable to exercise political power.

The feminization of Italian patriots most commonly takes place within a discussion of their alleged lack of military valor. Americans failed to see that the Risorgimento, particularly when it was embraced by the House of Savoy, was a largely middle-class movement with solely political goals, and that as such it could not enlist the support of a rural proletariat in need of social reforms, especially a redistribution of landed property. Instead, they interpreted the absence of popular participation in most of the insurrections that punctuate nineteenth-century Italian history as a sign that Italians were cowards, unwilling to fight for their country's freedom. Since military ardor was considered an eminently masculine trait, Italians were censured as an effeminate people. As we have seen, "Pope Pius IX and the Revolutions at Rome," the *North American Review* essay examined earlier, criticized Italians for not making a "manful" fight for liberty. What follows emphasizes the Italians' effeminacy. "It should be added," states the article, "that the grievances which drove our fathers into rebellion were not half so serious as those under which Italy has groaned for a century. If equal provocation had been given, the old women in England with their broomsticks would have made a better fight against the royal governors with their forces, than did three or four millions of the Italian people against the foreigners who came to whip them again into slavery."[58] Italians, then, are not only less manly than American men but less manly than their women, twice removed from the virile status essential to the full exercise of citizenship in the patriarchal American republic of the mid–nineteenth century. William Ware agreed. For him Italians were "too amiable a people, and too averse to war, to be ever able to secure or retain their just right." As such, he added, they were at "the other extreme of character" than Americans, in whom "there is nothing of the woman."[59] In a cultural context that acknowledged only the male body as worthy of political recognition, the opposition drawn between virile Americans and effeminate Italians automatically rendered Italians ineligible for the republican citizenship enjoyed by and reserved for Americans. Such is the import of Joel T. Headley's concluding remarks in his best-selling *Letters from Italy* that he had "no hope in the multitude of conspiracies and outbreaks with which Italy is filled" because "the love of pleasure and its pursuit takes from the manliness of the Italian character,

so necessary to a republican form of government."[60] Like the women to whom they were compared, Italians would have no part in the *res publica.*

William Wetmore Story's poem "Giannone" offers another example of the emasculation of Italian patriots that characterizes American discourse on risorgimental Italy, in this case combined with their infantilization. Story, who moved to Rome in 1847 to study sculpture and was to remain there for the rest of his life, reported on the political life of the city in letters, journals, and some of his published works. "Giannone," composed after the restoration of the pope in 1849, dramatizes the Italians' alleged cowardice, or rather, in this case, the flimsiness of their courage. The poem is centered on the transformation of the protagonist from dandy into spirited patriot, under the effect of alcohol: "Giannone kept drinking, . . . / Till at last his tongue had lost its rein, / And the fire had all gone into his brain. / So he began to talk quite wild, / And spoke all his thoughts out like a child; / . . . And names he called, and his voice was high / As he talked of Italian liberty! / And cursed the priests as the root of all evil, / And sent the Cardinals all to the devil! / . . . 'Better dig with the bayonet's point our graves / And die to be freemen, than live to be slaves! / Ah, fight we will! There is nothing good / which must not be first baptized in blood.' " But, of course, Giannone's patriotism is counterfeit, caused by inebriation, and the real Giannone is a different being, a "creature . . . gentle and mild," "who in his common mood / Thinks more of gloves and perfumes than of blood." Thus, a sober Giannone is characterized by the attributes and interests of women rather than men, as the poem indirectly confirms when it has the foreigners who witness his metamorphosis state, "These Italians *au fond* are men. / Let them be roused by war or love, / They are fiercer than any of us, by Jove!"[61] But even Giannone's temporary manhood is not such, since, as it turns out, he has been expressing liberal opinions in front of a government spy, is arrested, and is never heard of again. His bravery is foolish, in Story's words, the incautious boldness of a "child" rather than the valor of a man. Whether sober or inebriated, Giannone is thus confined by the American poet and his foreign acquaintances in Rome to the world of women and children, to those excluded from political life.

Indeed, it is as children that Italian revolutionists are most often—and most disparagingly—represented. In the only extant painting of the Roman republic of 1849, *Roman Newsboys* (fig. 7), Martin Johnson Heade chose to depict not the leaders of the newly founded democracy nor the

city's defense against the French army that put it under siege, but children selling papers. A closer look at the scene, however, reveals that the boys inhabit a highly politicized world and actually carry upon themselves the emblems of the liberal cause. The newsboy on the right wears a Greek hat, a symbol of Greece's war against Turkey and, by extension, every people's struggle for independence from foreign domination. The one on the left dons a clerical cap inscribed with the words "Pio IX," a sign of the popular enthusiasm for the liberal course adopted by the pope upon his election in 1846. Behind the two figures, moreover, looms a wall literally covered with graffiti and signs, all commenting on political events. The Roman public world depicted by Heade, however, is chaotic, a senseless jumble of contradictory political positions. The newspaper proffered to an unseen person approaching from the left is the satirical *Il Don Pirlone,* which had started its publication under the initially liberal government of Pius IX, but then savagely criticized the pope's timid reformism and finally became the organ of the Roman republic after the pope fled from the city. At the same time, however, as we have seen, the newsboy wears a cap indicating support for rather than condemnation of the pope's policy. The background of the painting presents an analogous juxtaposition of contradictory political positions. The advertisement for an English language journal that reads "Roman . . . Re . . . sed," probably "Romans Released," could be a reference to the general amnesty for political prisoners with which Pius IX started his reign, and which won him the sympathy of liberals all over Italy. Analogously, the sign proclaiming "Gioberti ai Romani!" is an allusion to the theories of political thinker Vincenzo Gioberti, who advocated the formation of a federation of independent Italian states under the presidency of a liberal pope. In striking contrast with the two posters, however, are the graffiti labeled "Papa" and "cardinale," which caricature Pius IX and his reactionary prime minister Antonelli. In Heade's rendition then, Rome's republican interlude is the realm of political disorder, over which very appropriately preside children as figures of irrationality, capriciousness, and impulsiveness.[62]

Other details add to this negative portrayal of Italian patriotism. It may not be an accident, for instance, that neither boy is standing. One sits upon a short pillar while the other leans against a wall. In fact, for both of them only one leg is visible, the other being lost to sight in the dark colors of the column or hidden behind the knee, respectively. These boys who cannot

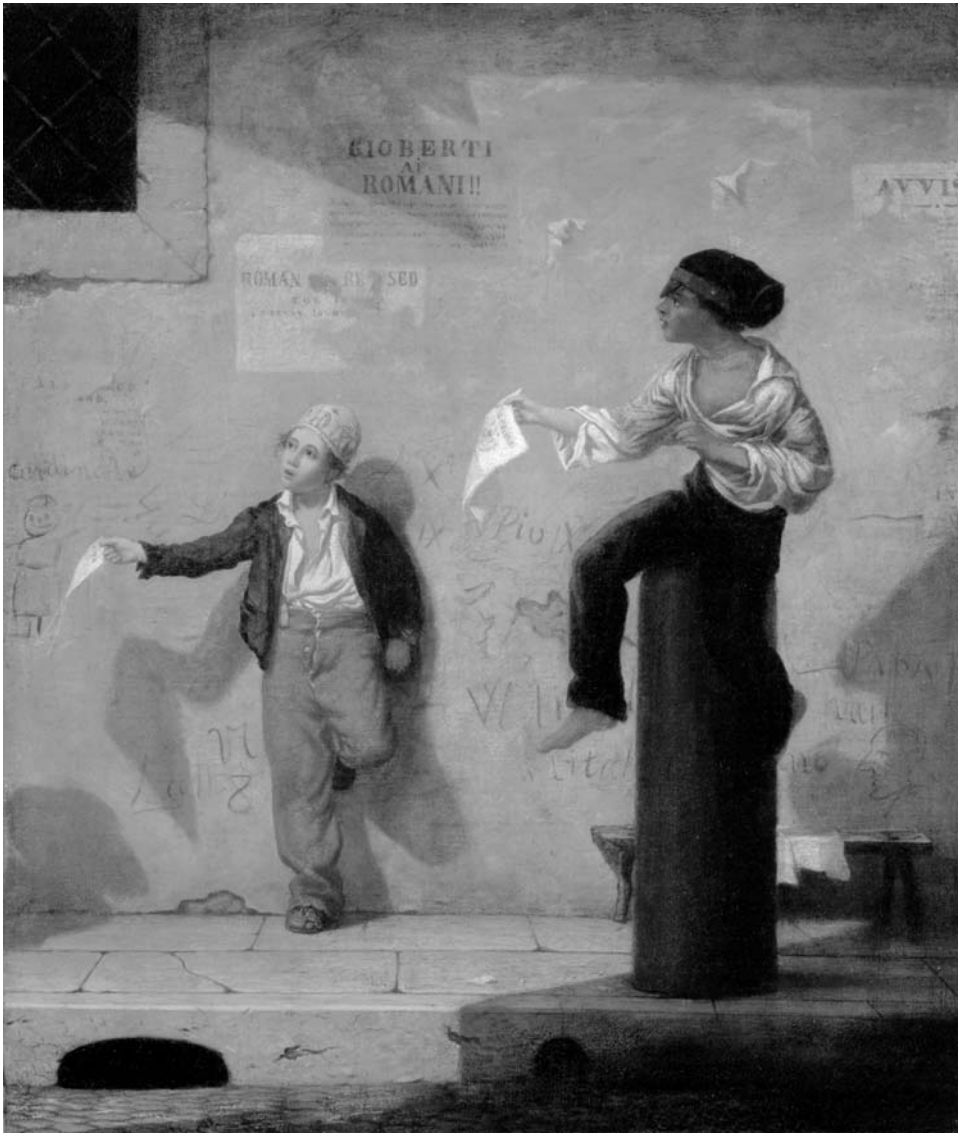


FIGURE 7. *Martin Johnson Heade (American 1819–1904),* Roman Newsboys, *1848, oil on canvas, 28 1/2 × 24 5/16 in., Toledo Museum of Art, purchased with funds from the Florence Scott Libbey Bequest in memory of her father, Maurice A. Scott (1953.68). Like many other American observers of the Italian political scene, Heade cast doubt on the Roman republicans' political virtue by depicting them as children.*

stand erect and seem physically impaired, almost crippled, are suggestive of the Italians' alleged unfitness for self-government, so often asserted in American accounts of the Risorgimento. Finally, the scantily clad, unbuttoned, shoeless children/patriots of this representation of Roman republicanism very clearly belong to the lowest social stratum and possibly even to the underworld, as the gutter in the forefront, metaphor for low life, seems to indicate. Thus, *Roman Newsboys* adds fearful intimation of anarchy to its rendition of the Italian revolutionary experience as ideologically confused and ultimately testifying to the people's unfitness for republicanism.

The negative implications of *Roman Newsboys* can be best appreciated when Heade's painting is opposed to Italian representations of the episodes of the Roman republic whose intent was, instead, to celebrate them. A favorite subject of Italian patriotic art was the depiction of victories obtained by the army of volunteers under the command of Garibaldi, who first distinguished himself during the siege of Rome, against the much more numerous forces sent by the Catholic sovereigns of Europe to reinstate the pope on his throne. Even when representing the fall of the republic, Italian artists clearly rendered it as a military defeat, due to the impossibility for the besieged city to resist the attacks of an overwhelmingly superior enemy. The depictions of Rome after the French occupation show it in ruins, literally destroyed by the bombardment it had undergone, and convey a clear sense that the courage of the people had been powerless against the heavy artillery of the French. Thus, while Heade represented the Romans as children whose political action is sterile satire, Italians depicted themselves as adult men bravely fighting for the institutions they had chosen for themselves. Most importantly, although Heade suggested that the fall of Rome may have been due to the civic immaturity of its citizens, Italians attributed it instead solely to their military inferiority.

Written texts authored by Americans also reductively represented instances of Italian patriotism as children's games. Such is the case, for instance, in architect, painter, and writer Henry Greenough's *Ernest Carroll; or, Artist-Life in Italy* (1858). The novel, centered around the love story between the American protagonist and an Italian noblewoman, also contains a chapter on the revolutions of 1848 in Tuscany entitled, somewhat ironically, "Regeneration of Italy." Greenough's description of the changes that took place in Florence after the flight of Grand Duke Leopold II, in fact, is far from sympathetic. The people, "formerly noted for their quiet and

peaceful ways," had turned into "restless, hot-headed politicians"; the city's one gazette had been replaced by four daily papers "inflaming the minds of their readers"; and the once secure streets now witnessed nocturnal "torch-light processions" of "mechanics, apprentices, and the dregs of the people, who marched to the chorus of *Pio Nono.*" Greenough's negative evaluation of the new democratic government founded in Florence finds its fullest realization in the one moment of direct contact between Carroll and the revolutionists, when the American hero is assaulted by a crowd led by a street child. The attack is senseless, provoked by the fact that Carroll wears a black ribbon on his straw hat and thus unknowingly displays the colors of the Austrian oppressors. In spite of its violence, of the "angry clamor and fierce gesticulations" of the crowd, the riot ends as suddenly as it started when Carroll takes off the ribbon and throws it away "amid the loud cheers of the appeased patriots." Not incidentally, it is "a young *birricchino,*" a child, who first points at Carroll's hat and cries " '*Abbasso quel nastro nero!*' 'Off with that black ribbon,' " which alerts a group of workmen nearby to the presence of a supposed enemy of the republic.[63] Greenough's street child, the initiator of misdirected, unproductive violence, functions here once more as a negatively connoted symbol of the revolution, a figure of its irrationality and ineffectiveness as well as of the people's unfitness for self-government.

Like the women and children they were compared to, Italians were deemed by Americans to be unworthy of republican citizenship. Moreover, as women and children needed guardians, so Italians needed benevolent constitutional monarchs. These would be unlike the foreign oppressors of previous ages in that they would grant freedom to their subjects but also maintain full control over the nation, which Italians were thought to be incapable of ruling themselves. Text after text insists that the only form of government appropriate to nineteenth-century Italy is constitutional monarchy. In a fierce attack against the Italian republican party, for instance, the *North American Review* declared in 1849 that "it was not by Mazzini and his party that Italy could be regenerated." "The sympathies of the true American," the journal continued, "should be enlisted on the side of liberty and order, and when he becomes convinced that these two blessings can only be attained in Europe, at least, for the present, by a constitutional monarchy, his sympathies should be with that form of government."[64] Writer and educator Caroline Kirkland, who published the

account of her Italian travels, *Holiday Abroad,* in that same year, was one such American, and she praised the moderate Gioberti because "his writings advocate constitutional monarchies for Italy, but not a republic, which his political sagacity probably tells him the people are not ready for."[65] More than a decade later, in 1861, the *North American Review* once again declared that only constitutional monarchy could ensure freedom in Italy, this time as the annexation of central and southern Italy to the Kingdom of Sardinia and the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy raised the protests of those who wanted Italy to be not only united but also republican. "Constitutional liberty, such as Sardinia has enjoyed for the last fifteen years," was, according to the *North American Review,* "sufficient to make Italy prosperous and happy, provided her sons are united, while the doctrines of Mazzini and his followers lead but to anarchy and confusion, and when carried out will always be found to end in reactions similar to those witnessed after the revolutions of 1848."[66]

These negative assessments of the Italians' aptitude for the responsibilities of republican life were reflected in the official policies of the United States, which failed to recognize the democratic governments of the 1848–49 period but immediately extended official recognition to Victor Emmanuel's Kingdom of Italy upon its proclamation in 1860. More specifically, when Lewis Cass Jr. was appointed American minister in Rome in February 1849, Secretary of State James Buchanan explicitly instructed him to withhold recognition from Mazzini's republic. He explained that "although it has been the constant policy and practice of this Government to recognize existing Governments, without inquiring into their legitimacy," they first had to have "afforded evidence of their will and their power to maintain their independence," which could not be asserted of the Roman republic. In fact, he "consider[ed] the speedy restoration of the Pope highly probable, if not absolutely certain."[67] Twelve years later, on the occasion of the annexation of southern Italy to the rest of the peninsula in 1861, Buchanan's successor, William H. Seward, addressed completely different words to the Italian minister in Washington, Giuseppe Bertinatti. "The undersigned cannot doubt," he wrote, "that the extended authority of His Majesty, so entirely in accordance with the wishes of the Italian people, will be exercised with the moderation and wisdom for which he has ever been conspicuous; and he trusts that His Majesty's reign will be prosperous and happy to himself and acceptable to his subjects."[68] Although the

republic was deemed unstable and unworthy of recognition, the kingdom was hailed as a model of political stability. Yet, the first problems the Kingdom of Italy would face were popular rebellions in the newly annexed south of such a magnitude that they would require the extended military occupation of those territories. Thus, more than the "reality" of Italy's political situation—whether it was stable and ordered or not so—it was the mode of political organization adopted by the Italians (republican or monarchical) that determined to a large extent the American reaction.

The Exclusiveness of Republicanism

While envisioning revolutions in Italy as inspired by the presence of democracy in the United States, American commentators on the Risorgimento, as we have seen, also frequently described it as an abortive political process. This condemnation of Italy's republican experiments served the purpose of enhancing the prestige of the United States as not only a nation capable of determining the course of historical political developments worldwide, but also as the only extant incarnation of the republican principle. In other words, derogatory portrayals of international republicanism, legitimized in part by the fact that the revolutions of 1848–49 did, in fact, succumb to the forces of reaction, made it possible to refine an already empowering nationalist mythology picturing America as catalyst of transatlantic revolutions by combining it with a vision of the United States as the sole nation able to institute and maintain republican institutions.

Charles Edward Lester's conclusion to the account of his experience as American consul in Genoa well exemplifies the glorification of America obtained through the confrontation with foreign republicanism previously described. The second volume of *My Consulship* is a detailed history of the Papal States from the tyrannical reign of Gregory XVI to the advent of the reformist Pius IX and to the establishment and demise of the Roman republic. The hero of the narrative is Pius IX, who, Lester declares, "honestly intended to confer upon his subjects all the liberty they were capable of appreciating"; the villains are the people, who "soon proved themselves incapable of [enjoying] what they got" and asked for what their sovereign could not concede. The devaluation of the political capabilities of foreign

people leads in the book's concluding remarks to a contrastive exaltation of the writer's own country. "It will not be disputed," writes Lester in a sweeping condemnation of the population of an entire continent, "that the ultimate cause of the failure of European nations, in the establishment and maintenance of liberal institutions, during and after the Revolution of 1848, was *the political incapacity of the people.* We do not believe that Europe is qualified for republican institutions, nor that she could enjoy or perpetuate them, even if they were conceded by those who sway the power." "I have very little faith," he concludes, "in the capacity of any great people in the world, either to establish or to maintain Republican institutions, except the people of the United States."[69] The failure of the Italians and others to defend the republics they had proclaimed thus made it possible to see the feat accomplished by the founders of the American democracy and those who followed them as so much more glorious, especially when the debacle of European republicanism was ascribed to the people's penchant for disorder rather than to the retaliatory power of their rulers.

Lester was not alone in arguing that although the rise of the republican party in Europe was due to the example of America, only the people of the United States could safely deal with the responsibilities of republican citizenship. Charles Eliot Norton, a renowned scholar of Italian literature and art, maintained as much in his *Considerations on Some Recent Social Theories* (1853), an extensive overview of contemporary European political thought. Norton questioned the validity of the call for "universal republicanism"—the institution of republics in every nation—on the part of the European left. According to Norton, the three figures whose political position he discusses—Italian Giuseppe Mazzini, Hungarian Louis Kossuth, and Frenchman Louis Blanc—had not considered, in raising "an almost simultaneous cry for Universal Liberty," "the differences in nations, both in character and in natural and material position, differences that render necessary different applications of principles and different forms of institutions, suited to the special development of each people." More specifically, while the Americans' "general moral and intellectual education" made a republican government the "most productive of happiness" for them, the Italians, whom Mazzini had described in his writings on popular education as "having not a shadow of intellect or political experience," had been tragically mistaken in insisting on a republican Italy to the extent of thwarting any monarchical attempt to free the country from Austrian power. Norton's

one major concrete example of the "bitter fruit" of democratic theories is the Italian republicans' opposition to Charles Albert of Sardinia's plan to annex Lombardy and Venetia in 1848 in exchange for his military support in their war against Austria. In Norton's words, "if they [the republicans] could not have a republic, they would have a foreign and oppressive despotism; and they destroyed the chance of a constitutional monarchy in Northern Italy, for the love of an impossible and idle dream."[70] As with Lester and the many others who contrasted the failures of the Risorgimento with the successes of the American Revolution, Norton's account of midcentury Europe shifts from being an overview of events abroad—that is, an exercise in international history—into a form of comparative history that opposes foreign and domestic events, and, finally, into a nationalistic exaltation of America as fundamentally different from and better than other nations.

Most American commentators on the Risorgimento added a temporal qualifier to their statement that Italy was not fit for republican institutions, and expressed their certainty that democracy would one day exist in the Italian peninsula as well as in the United States of America. Although this indefinite postponing of republican fulfillment for countries other than America may seem reflective of a more sympathetic attitude toward them than the categorical denial, such as in Lester's case, that any people but Americans could face the responsibilities of democracy, it actually serves an important function within nationalist mythology. Far from diminishing the prestige of the United States, a teleological vision of history as ineluctably but slowly progressing toward the advent of republicanism throughout the world preserves for America the role of political model as well as that of only extant democracy. The writings of Joel Tyler Headley offer once again a good illustration of the configuration of America as exceptional republican model—at the same time a political prototype that other nations are eventually destined to imitate and an irreproducible realization of the democratic principle. As we have seen, Headley believed both that the struggle for freedom in Italy had been inspired by the American War of Independence and that the Italians would not be able to live under a republican government. If the alleged inability of the Italian patriots to emulate the American colonists left the United States in the prestigious position of the only country able to make a revolution that did not succumb to conservative reaction, still Italy, too, would be one day republican. As he put it in *Letters from Italy,* "the years do not move around in a tread-

mill, but each pushes on its fellow, and all are tending to a certain goal. They have their mission and God his design, and he is stupid and blind who believes that man can always be deluded by the same follies. The age of interrogation has commenced. Men begin to ask questions in Rome as well as in America."[71] The same progressive conception of history, where progress is conceived as an extension of U.S. political organization to other countries, is expressed in Headley's essay "Pope Pius IX and Italy," the very same text where he declared the Romans unfit for a republic. "If there is one thing fixed in destiny," writes Headley, "it is the steady, resistless progress of the republican principle. Struggle as despots may—surround themselves as they will with all the checks and restraints on popular feeling—bind and torture, and exile and slay, the terrible day of reckoning is slowly advancing."[72] So Italy would eventually be like America. But for the time being, America remained the sole successful practitioner of democracy.

In *Italian Sights and Papal Principles* (1855), Protestant minister James Jackson Jarves explicitly linked Italy's unpreparedness for republicanism with the continuation of the U.S. role as political guide to other countries. Like Headley and many of his contemporaries, Jarves was skeptical about the Italian aptitude for participatory citizenship. In fact, he declared that "the unlettered Italian mind has no conception of political liberty. It is a condition it never dreamed of. Despotism may be created in an hour, but republicanism is of slow growth. Those who hope to regenerate Italy in a day are putting faith in dreams." In spite of this negative assessment of the civic virtue of the people, Jarves believed in the possibility of a democratic future for Italy. In his words, "Is there, then, no hope of Italy? Many shrewd observers say no. I differ from them. . . . The Italians are but what their rulers have made them. Change the rulers and there is hope. Unfetter the mind, and it will develop new channels of thought and enterprise." Most importantly, though, America was to contribute to Italy's deferred process of regeneration, which would be "aided by the sympathy and experience of other nations who have passed through their agony of travail," a reference to the establishment of republican institutions in America through the vicissitudes of the war against England.[73] Thus, the vision of history as continuously advancing toward a state of political perfection actualized in the present only by American democracy allowed for the celebration of the United States for both the germinal and the unique nature of its republican government.

It is indeed a celebration of America that emerges from the accounts of Italy's nineteenth-century political vicissitudes we have examined. The cultural work of these tales only seemingly centered on foreign people and foreign lands is the fashioning of an exalted image of the United States as powerful catalyst of transatlantic liberal movements destined to failure in the present but leading to the political transformation of the world on the model of America. And the denigrating portraits of Italian patriotism that so often appear in American chronicles of the Risorgimento are essential to the project of nationalist aggrandizement in which these texts participate. It was only if others failed to establish democracies that the rhetoric of American political evangelism could coexist with the rhetoric of American democratic exceptionalism. Only through the republican miscarriages of others could America be envisioned as emulated, yet unequaled.

The citizens of the United States are about to add to their present rank at sea, the pacific and universal dominion on land. Their trade is omnipresent; their principles are omnipotent if, republicans themselves, they make no default.
—*Democratic Review,* 1852

2 Of Revolutions and Commerce

The Imperial Vistas of Political Philanthropy

On 12 December 1848, Nicholas Browne, American consul in Rome, wrote a long dispatch to Secretary of State James Buchanan in which he reported on recent political events in Italy: progressive reforms that had been implemented throughout the peninsula since the election of the liberal pope Pius IX, Austria's increasing opposition to the liberalization of Italian politics, and popular demonstrations that had taken place in several states to force Italy's sovereigns to join the cause of national independence. At the time of Browne's letter, the Romans had expressed their dissatisfaction with Pius IX's reticence to engage in a war against Austria

by attacking his residence at the Quirinal, upon which the pope had fled from Rome and left the city in the hands of the people. The American consul introduced his narration of these incidents with a long passage on the significance for the United States of the Italians' struggle to free their country from its colonial bond with the Austrian empire and replace local absolute monarchies with more liberal forms of government. According to Browne, such social upheavals had repercussions on the economic and commercial policies of foreign countries that the United States, as a nation with an immense productive surplus in need of a market, could not ignore. In his words, "It seems almost superfluous to show that European politics, more especially as connected with the progress of the old world, in its commercial & manufacturing relations, not only cannot be indifferent to the enlightened Government of our country, but must, on the contrary, from year to year, increasingly occupy their attention."[1]

Browne advocated an active supervision of Italian politics on the part of Washington officials, and his words suggest that he considered such supervision both a means to an end, securing outlets for American exports, and an end in itself, the affirmation of U.S. power on the European political scene. As he put it, "the United States, called by the exact extent & boundless fertility of her territory, the illimitable increase of her population, her numberless resources of every kind, & the immense facilities afforded by Fulton's great invention [the steamboat], to far higher destinies, [must] become, 'ere long, for her own sake, an actively mediating, if not controlling power, in all that regards the European continent." Although the statement that follows this call for American interposition in foreign political events—"Far be it from me to recommend, in the remotest degree, any deviation from the wise policy of political non-intervention, so happily decided upon, & so judiciously persevered in by our Government"—is a disclaimer, it is belied by the assertions to the contrary that surround it. In fact, Browne's closing words offer a moral justification for intervention. It was because of the "bright example of our country," he wrote, "shewing [*sic*] as a great beacon light to the world, the sure road to wealth, to greatness, & to happiness," that the people of Italy had risen against their sovereigns, and Americans could not but feel responsible for the outcome of revolutions they had inspired.[2] Accordingly, Browne, dressed in his official uniform and acting as representative of the United States, expressed American support for the popular government of Rome by accompanying

the newly elected constituent assembly in their solemn procession through the city. Incidentally, as Browne informed Washington officials in a later dispatch, one of the assembly's first decisions was to reduce the duties imposed on foreign imports.

Browne's observations on the connection of political progress in Italy with the commercial interests of the United States are not an isolated instance, nor is his vision of the rising power of the United States on the European continent. In fact, considerations of commercial expansion and political prestige permeate much of mid-nineteenth-century American commentary on Italy's political liberalization. More specifically, the vision of the United States as catalyst for liberalism abroad functioned as rationale for forms of intervention in support of foreign progressive governments, intervention that aimed at increasing U.S. commercial presence in the Mediterranean and parading the new nation's strength in front of traditional Western powers. This connection between democratic sympathy and national aggrandizement found its most extreme manifestation in the campaign for military intervention in Europe conducted in the early 1850s by Young America, an aggressively expansionist political faction linked to the Democratic Party. Although Young America's request that the United States send troops to aid Europe's fledging democracies represents a radical response to foreign republicanism and was never officially granted, the notion that the United States should support the revolutions prompted by its example was widespread, as was the understanding that such support offered an opportunity to extend American economic and diplomatic power.

American longing for new transatlantic markets and areas of political influence constituted a form of "imperialism." I use the term "imperialism" here, however, not to refer to what scholars in the field call "formal imperialism"—the settlement and incorporation of new territory into the nation state—but to indicate what historians John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson first defined in their pioneering study as the "imperialism of free trade," a form of national power divorced from territorial expansion and based instead on the creation of a vast network of international markets and diplomatic power.[3] The dominion coveted by the United States in the Mediterranean was commercial and political, an "informal" or, to use Amy Kaplan's terminology, "disembodied" empire built on the rhetoric of America's republican duty toward international liberalism.[4]

The importance of American commentary on Italian liberalism lies specifically in how the investigation of this body of texts contributes to the ongoing reconfiguration of our understanding of the scope, character, and rationale of American imperialism. Recent scholarship has already revised the traditional periodization of nineteenth-century U.S. imperialism into an earlier continental and a successive globalist phase and suggested instead that globalism is a historical constant of America's imperialist thrust. The understanding of what constitutes American imperialism, moreover, has been extended to include economic as well as territorial control.[5] Although many scholars now recognize that American imperialism was global, rather than merely continental, in the 1840s as in the 1890s, and that it had commercial and political as well as territorial ambitions, studies of early U.S. imperialist ventures outside the Americas have focused mostly on the Pacific, specifically on the efforts to open Chinese and Japanese ports to American commerce. Little attention, however, has been devoted to the U.S. desire to penetrate the markets of the Mediterranean, especially the Italian peninsula.[6] I attempt to redress this deficiency by underscoring America's aspiration to augment its commercial and political presence in the Mediterranean, which confirms the disembodied nature of antebellum global imperialism while expanding its geographical range. Furthermore, by showing the interrelation between the myth of America as epicenter of a worldwide process of democratization, U.S. aid to foreign republicanism, and expansionist designs in the American response to Italian liberalism, this chapter suggests that Young America's call for intervention in Italy constitutes an early example of the tie between political philanthropy and imperialism that has characterized American foreign policy in the twentieth century. In sum, the imperialist tactic adopted by the United States since its military intervention in favor of Cuban and Philippine independence from Spain in the 1890s may have a precedent half a century beforehand.

Inventories of the Mediterranean

An array of such mid-nineteenth-century texts as commercial treatises and dispatches of American diplomats in Italy testifies to the existence of an American project of mercantile expansion in the Mediterranean. One such document is John Martin Baker's 1847 pamphlet *A View*

of the Commerce of the United States and the Mediterranean Sea-Ports. As an American diplomat who had served in several locations on the Mediterranean, Baker had been able to observe firsthand the Mediterranean trade and assess its potential receptivity to American exports. His treatise strongly advocates American commercial involvement in the Mediterranean and expresses the conviction that, once embarked on, it would be "found to be of great national consequence."[7] Although Baker examined the opportunities offered to American trade in ports throughout the Mediterranean, about a third of his entries describe harbors situated along the coasts of Italy, a clear indication of the importance of the centrally located Italian peninsula within the commercial economy of the Mediterranean.

Baker provided his readers, the members of the "commercial community of the United States" mentioned in the dedication, with detailed lists of the imports and exports of each location, with special attention devoted to the American products that would sell at a profit in a specific market. Prospective traders who consulted his work would learn, for example, that New Orleans sugar, Cuban honey, and wheat were always in high demand in Genoa; that Cagliari, on the island of Sardinia, imported New England rum and South American sugar and coffee; and that Palermo, on the island of Sicily, would buy American cotton, Virginia tobacco, and North Atlantic codfish. They would be informed, moreover, that an American cargo could be either sold or bartered for local products—for silks, damasks, and marble in Genoa; for cement in Civitavecchia; for dyes, capers, and soda in Cagliari; for wool, lemons, and oranges in Naples; and for wines and oils in Messina. The exchange, Baker ensured his audience, would always be advantageous to the U.S. trader: while American goods would "sell well" and "bring good prices," the local products to be bought were consistently "abundant and cheap."[8]

In addition to its careful inventories of the markets of Italy, intending to allure American trade to tap these markets, Baker's *View of the Commerce of the United States and the Mediterranean Sea-Ports* also provides the body of knowledge necessary to such an enterprise. It conveys precise information about the ports of the Italian peninsula, including how to reach them, their general level of safety, and the kinds of vessels they can host. It contains large nautical maps of individual harbors indicating the depth of their water at different locations, the best points of anchorage, the position of the lighthouses, and the length of the moles (fig. 8). It describes the

rules regulating commercial transactions at each site, such as the use of sworn brokers to mediate between trading parties in Genoa and the imposition of a tax on all sales and purchases in Naples. It translates local monetary systems into American and British values so that an American trader would be aware that, among others, Leghorn's "20 soldi" were "eight pence sterling" and Civitavecchia's "julio" was worth "6 pence." Finally, it offers tables converting Italian units of measurement—the *cantare* for weight, the *palma* and the *caffe* for length, the *carre* for liquid volume—into pounds, yards, and gallons. Thus, as a collection of data on the profitability, location, and workings of Italian markets, *View of the Commerce* is at the same time an invitation and a guide to the commercial conquest of Italy. In fact, given the interconnection of knowledge and power and the function of exploration in the constitution of empires, Baker's treatise, as a report on the Italian economy, functioned as a tool for the extension of America's mercantile dominion in the Mediterranean.[9]

As a practical text advocating and directing the U.S. commercial expansion in the Mediterranean, Baker's work also discussed the factors imperiling such a project, namely the presence in the area of an already established economic empire—England. Indeed, the enthusiastic tone of its catalog of trade opportunities available in the Italian peninsula is often dampened by the necessity to acknowledge that British merchants were already taking advantage of these opportunities. While cotton goods, for instance, were always in demand in Sardinia, England already supplied them. And though Americans would profit from buying Marsala wine at low prices in Sicily and selling it at much higher prices in northern Europe and South America, Britain had a monopoly on that product. The plan for U.S. commercial conquest of the Mediterranean was not without obstacles.

J. Smith Homans's *Historical and Statistical Account of the Foreign Commerce of the United States,* published a decade after Baker's treatise, also considers the elements hindering America's commercial designs over the Mediterranean. Like Baker, Homans underscored the profitability of trade with Italy by devoting to it several pages in a comprehensive work that reports on American commerce with "every important maritime country in the world." Unlike Baker, Homans did not list the American products that could be sold in Italy or those that American traders could buy there. Instead, he compiled statistical tables showing the annual value of American exports to and imports from Italy for the period between 1821 and 1857.

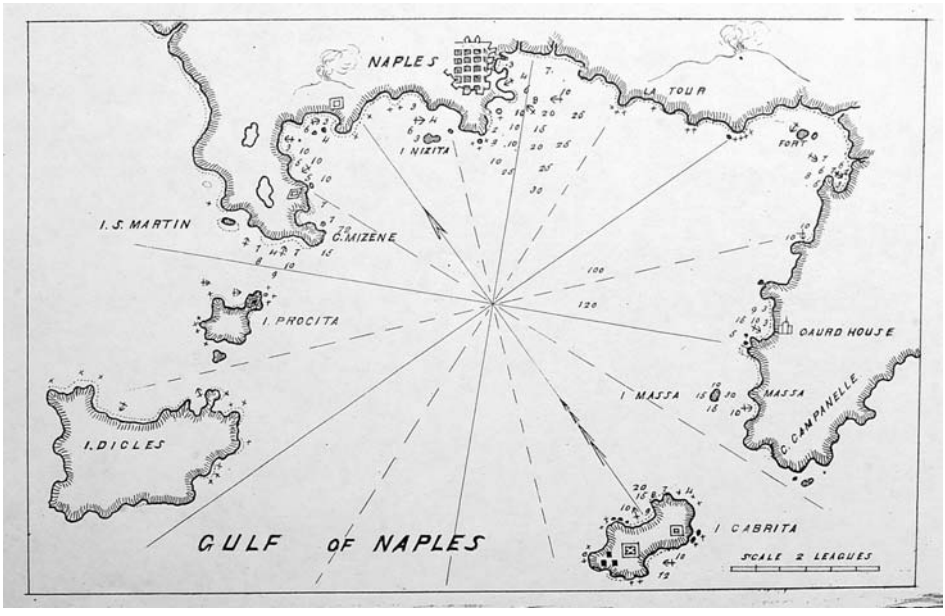


FIGURE 8. *Map of the harbor of Naples, from John Martin Baker,* A View of the Commerce of the United States and the Mediterranean Sea-Ports *(Philadelphia, 1847). American merchants approaching Naples by sea would learn from Baker's map to steer away from shallow, rocky waters around the harbor (the dotted line indicates danger, the crosses stand for underwater rocks, and the numbers show the depth of the water).*

While these numbers are tangible proof of the revenues of America's commercial interaction with Italy—exports to Italy rose from six million dollars for the decade 1830–40 to over twelve million dollars for the following decade—they also registered the obstacles to it. One was the strong presence of British merchants already noted by Baker. The table of the foreign commerce of Sicily for 1854, for instance, indicates that the Sicilian imports from Great Britain had totaled 19,144,604 francs for that year, while the United States had sold only 1,283,216 francs of merchandise. The impediments to U.S. economic ascendancy in the Mediterranean came from within the Italian peninsula as well as from without. For example, the imports from the United States to the poorly populated and mostly barren island of Sardinia, governed by the House of Savoy, had been from 1847

onward higher than those of populous and fertile Sicily, which was part of the southern kingdom of the Spanish Bourbons. Homans explained that, while the House of Savoy had agreed to a relationship of total commercial reciprocity and did not impose duties on merchandise, whether domestic or foreign, carried on American ships, the Bourbons were taxing all articles of indirect trade. Furthermore, while the king of Sardinia had abolished the feudal system, distributed estates, and fostered agriculture, the king of the Two Sicilies had imposed restrictions on the cultivation of the land and famished the population of the island that had in antiquity provided wheat for the rest of Italy. Homans concluded, "there are few countries where agriculture is so ill conducted."[10] Thus, the U.S. project of commercial expansion in the Italian markets had uneven results in different sections of the peninsula depending on the trade regulations and economic conditions of each individual state. Some were better clients than others.

The survey of the commercial opportunities on the Italian peninsula conducted by writers of commercial treatises such as Baker and Homans was supplemented by the dispatches of American diplomats stationed in Italy. The role of American diplomacy in nineteenth-century Italy was primarily commercial: its function was to explore the possibility of commercial interaction with the Italian governments and, whenever advantageous, to promote the ratification of preferential commercial agreements. Thus, diplomats, with their dispatches to Washington on the resources of the Italian peninsula and its governments' attitudes toward free trade, served—like maps, conversion tables, and statistics—as instruments of the American imperial apparatus. Like the commercial treatises, moreover, they revealed that America's eagerness to establish commercial relations with Italy was not universally welcomed. While the Kingdom of Sardinia was modernizing agriculture and willing to intensify its trade, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies was still divided into large, poorly cultivated landed estates and was opposed to the liberalization of commerce. More specifically, Sardinia had signed a treaty of commercial reciprocity with the United States as early as 1838 and in the same year exonerated American ships from being quarantined. Its representative in Washington in the 1840s, Luigi Mossi, had collaborated with the American chargé d'affaires in Turin, Robert Wickliffe, to persuade Piedmontese merchants to eliminate England's intermediation and bring their wines and silks directly to the United States, where they could buy tobacco, cotton, and coal without traveling to London.

The government, moreover, had embarked on a program of railroad construction to link Genoa with Turin and the latter with Geneva. Since the new lines of communication would permit the distribution of American exports in northern Europe, the United States had suggested the institution of a steamboat line connecting New York with Genoa. Sardinia had immediately embraced the project.

The response of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies to the U.S. invitation to establish freedom of trade between the two countries, on the contrary, had been consistently negative. American diplomats had attempted to persuade the government to sign a commercial treaty since 1833, but their efforts had been unavailing. William Boulware, who failed to negotiate a trade agreement in the early 1840s, fiercely censured the economic policies of the Bourbons in his dispatches to Washington. In his words, "here is a government, which, almost from time immemorial, has made war on all the interests of the people, which seems to have tortured invention to find impediments for the obstruction of commerce, which has burdened agriculture to such a degree that but a mite of the products of the soil remains to the producer, [and] which in its stupid efforts to regulate industry and production has only trammeled the exertions of the former and impeded the development of the latter." And although an agreement reducing duties on the cotton and tobacco sold to Sicily and on the cotton imported by Naples was finally reached in 1845, U.S. diplomats often complained that the local government violated it by imposing heavy taxes on American imports.[11]

Capital and Freedom

Americans ascribed the two governments' different receptivity to their commercial proposals to their respective political configurations, namely, that while the Kingdom of Sardinia had a comparatively enlightened government and had become a constitutional monarchy in 1848, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies was an absolute monarchy. Within Anglo-American liberal political thought, with its faith in representative political institutions and free-market capitalism, economic and commercial stagnation was perceived to be the effect of despotism, and economic and commercial development the first result of social progress. The notion

of the existence of a causal relationship between Italian politics and economic structure emerges clearly in an 1848 letter of instructions from James Buchanan to Jacob L. Martin, who had just been appointed to the position of chargé d'affaires to the Papal States. Buchanan commended the course of moderate reformism begun by Pius IX and by other Italian monarchs following his example and anticipated that this movement toward enlightened forms of government would positively affect the economic life of the peninsula. As he put it, "the spirit of reform which is now abroad in Italy will doubtless lead to the removal or reduction of those ancient restrictions upon trade which are opposed to the genius of the age and the truest interest of the people." In fact, he had already been informed "that a more liberal commercial policy begins to pervade Italy," a reference to Pius IX's proposal for the formation of a commercial league among the Italian states that would eliminate internal duties. Buchanan believed the pope's political and economic reformism opened new commercial prospects for the United States, and his letter is packed with requests for specific information regarding the economy of Rome and the character of the league: "What is the rate of duties imposed in the Papal States on our cotton, rice, tobacco, grain and other productions? What is the amount of American productions annually consumed in these states? Have any of the states of Italy united or do they propose to unite in a Commercial League, and what is the character and constitution of such league? Will it have the power to constitute commercial Treaties with Foreign nations? In short, we desire all the information you can procure relative to the best mode of increasing our commerce, not only with Papal, but with the other independent States in Northern Italy."[12] The secretary of state's words indicate that for the United States the relevance of the pope's reformism lay in its effects on the peninsula's economic prosperity and potential for the absorption of American exports. In other words, Pius IX's liberalism was perceived as assisting U.S. economic expansion. That it should be praised comes as no surprise.

Only a few months before Buchanan wrote to Martin, a public demonstration in support of Pope Pius IX had taken place in New York. The list of the organizers of the meeting confirms the hypothesis that Italian liberalism served the interests of American commercialism. In fact, American capitalists figure prominently among the supporters of the Italian cause. The General Committee of Arrangements included William Frederick Havemeyer, who had made his fortune in the sugar-refining business, had invested in

the Pennsylvania Coal Company and the Long Island Railroad, and would become in the 1850s president of the Bank of North America and the New York Savings Bank; Moses Hicks Grinnell, owner of Grinnell, Minturn & Company, the major mercantile and shipbuilding firm in New York, and a firm believer that the future prosperity of the United States would depend on worldwide trade; Charles King, partner in the mercantile house of Archibald Gracie, director of the Bank of New York, and prominent officer of the New York Chamber of Commerce; and John Lloyd Stephens, a steamship and railroad promoter as well as author of several travel books on Central America. Thus, the support for the Italian cause came, at least in part, from the producers of the merchandise that would sell on the Italian market, the builders of the railroads that transported the products of the agricultural central states to the Atlantic ports, the owners of the ships that would bring that merchandise overseas, and the bankers who had the capital that would finance the enterprise. As one speaker, lawyer Theodore Sedgwick, said of the meeting in his speech, "this international sympathy, these tributes of regard and affection, paid by people to people, all look to that day—distant but certain—when commerce without shackles, peace obliterating national distinction, religion freed from superstition, shall proclaim the *Veni, vidi, vici,* of civilization and Christianity."[13] In mercantile America's expectations and desires for Italy, political freedom came hand in hand with free trade.

Sedgwick's hopes seemed to be fulfilled in the 1850s, when Count Camillo Benso di Cavour, prime minister of the Kingdom of Sardinia, firmly pursued a policy of economic laissez-faire involving the abolition of protective tariffs on foreign imports. Cavour's other economic reforms included the industrialization of agriculture, the expansion of the commercial navy, and the construction of railroads with the support of foreign investments.[14] Nothing could have been more congenial to U.S. commercial interests. In fact, American exports to the Kingdom of Sardinia increased dramatically from a little over three hundred thousand dollars in 1851 to almost three million dollars in 1859.[15] When the successful campaign of Sardinia against Austria in 1859 led to the annexation of Lombardy, Tuscany, Romagna, and the Duchies of Modena and Parma to the territories of the House of Savoy, it was expected that Cavour's economic policies would be extended to the new territories. Not surprisingly, the representatives of American business flocked once more to the meeting arranged in New York

to celebrate the event. Havemeyer, Grinnell, and King were again among the organizers of the gathering. The list of vice presidents also included Grinnell's partner, Robert Bowne Minturn; August Belmont, one of the leading bankers in the country and son-in-law of Commodore Matthew C. Perry; William Butler Ogden, a businessman involved in railroad construction who would become first president of the Union Pacific in 1862; and Peter Cooper, builder of the first steam locomotive, owner of foundries and iron mines, and president of the international company that built the Atlantic cable. Once more, those who congratulated Italy for having achieved independence from Austria and the partial unification of its territory were the builders of lines of communication that connected the United States to the new transatlantic market.[16]

International Philanthropy and National Power

While the presence of capitalists at the meetings testifies to American economic investment in the success of liberalism in Italy, several of the interventions suggest that the United States had more than free trade to gain from the Italian struggles. By the time the 1847 manifestation of sympathy took place, the Austrian government had expressed its opposition to the course of reform adopted by the pope, most signally through the military occupation of the city of Ferrara, on the northern boundary of the Papal States. Several speakers addressed the issue and declared that the United States would take the pope's side in case the conservative monarchies of Europe decided on war to put an end to his liberal government. Such statements, however, are a proclamation of national power as well as a defense of freedom against absolutism. Editor Horace Greeley's address "To His Holiness Pope Pius IX," to be actually presented to the pope, boldly declared, "let the rash aggressor beware! The first shot fired in such a contest will reverberate from every mountain, summoning the brave and noble from every clime to stand forth against Injustice and Oppression—to battle for Freedom and Mankind." "In such a contest," it concluded, "no one familiar with the history or character of the American People, can doubt that their sympathies will be active and not wholly fruitless." One of the many who sent letters to the assembly, Democratic statesman Thomas H. Benton of Washington, echoed Greeley's words when he wrote that "there is no

form in which sympathy can take the shape of action, in which American feeling, in favor of His Holiness, will not be manifested to the world, and made to be felt in the contest." And Theodore Sedgwick put it even more forcefully when he stated that in case of a war "it will be utterly impossible for this country long to keep aloof from the conflict. . . . We are naturally and necessarily the champions of freedom on both sides of the water."[17] Greeley, Benton, and Sedgwick were calling for unspecified forms of intervention, justified by the existence of democracy in the United States and instrumental to the manifestation of the growing power of the American republic. It was not by mere chance that John L. O'Sullivan, who had coined the phrase "manifest destiny" to legitimize the nation's continental imperialist venture as an extension of the dominion of democracy, was among the secretaries at the demonstration. At midcentury, manifest destiny was looking beyond the Atlantic for a new area of influence.

The interconnection of support for Italian liberalism, commercial expansion, and nationalistic self-promotion emerges clearly in the 1848 dispatches to Washington from the American representative in Turin, Nathaniel Niles. Writing after the popular insurrections in Milan and Venice and the king of Sardinia's declaration that he would defend the Milanese and the Venetians against Austria, Niles recommended that the U.S. Mediterranean Squadron be sent to the coasts of Italy. According to him, "the display of an American fleet on the shores of Italy would afford great moral strength to the cause of Italian Independence, an object of the very highest importance to the commercial interests of the United States."[18] Niles believed it was in the U.S. interest to sanction the expansionist war of a king who had seconded American plans for commercial advancement, since its success would entail the opening of new mercantile opportunities in northern Italy. Moreover, war itself could be a profitable business. In 1848 the U.S. conflict with Mexico had just come to an end, and America was in possession of a large quantity of weapons that were no longer needed. They could find a market in revolutionary Italy. In Niles's own words, "the demand for arms in Europe is likely to be so very extensive that it is a question whether our government should not be authorized to sell at any time the excess on hand."[19] Italy's fight against Austria further offered the occasion to parade American ships of war in front of Europe's monarchies. When Niles was asked by a member of the provisional government of Venice to have an American ship of war break the Austrian blockade

around the city and acknowledge the authority of the new republic, Niles instructed him to appeal to George C. Read, commander of the American Mediterranean Squadron in Leghorn. As a result, two American warships, the *Taney* and the *Princeton*, were dispatched to Venice with a load of supplies for its citizens. When the Austrian government warned the American chargé d'affaires in Venice, William Stiles, that their navy would sink the next such ship, he defiantly replied that they were welcome to do so if they could catch it.[20] The entire episode is indicative of the usefulness of Italian liberalism to the U.S. project to have their national power acknowledged on the European scene. The cause of Italian independence offered the occasion for an intervention in Europe that could conceivably be the starting point of a future of American political influence in that area.

Even the limited forms of interference recommended by Niles could considerably advance the cause of the transatlantic extension of American supremacy. The interaction between Commodore Read and several Italian liberal governments in 1848 clearly exemplifies this dynamic. The Mediterranean Squadron reached Genoa, which was part of the Kingdom of Sardinia, in March 1848, after the government had granted a liberal constitution, and there were talks of a war against Austria. Read took advantage of the atmosphere of liberal enthusiasm to request permission to use the port of La Spezia, situated east of Genoa on the Ligurian coast, as a naval base for his military fleet. The Sardinian government, conscious that the presence of American warships in their waters would be useful in case of a war with Austria, immediately approved Read's request on the most liberal terms—no duties would be levied, and one of the major public buildings in Spezia would be at the Americans' disposal as a depot at no charge. Aware that even minimal aid to Italian liberalism brought considerable revenues, Read subsequently raised the possibility of a similar arrangement with the provisional government of Sicily, which had rebelled against the authority of the Bourbons and declared its independence. Once again, he was instantly offered base rights in the harbor of Syracuse.[21] Sympathy could thus be bartered for military naval bases conveniently located in the middle of the Mediterranean, essential to the protection of American commercial interests in Europe and North Africa and to the exercise of political pressure on those territories.

Interference could easily be justified by appealing to the notion that it was the example of the United States that had prompted the rise of liberal-

ism abroad. In the dispatch immediately following his suggestion that the Mediterranean Squadron be present in Italian ports, Niles reported in great detail a conversation with the Sardinian minister of foreign affairs, Lorenzo Pareto. According to Niles, the Italian diplomat had expressed "great admiration for the government of the United States, whose example had done so much to enlighten mankind as to the extent to which the people could be safely entrusted with the exercise of political rights," and further told him that "they were now endeavoring to engraft our principles of government upon their own constitutional system."[22] In actuality, the government of the Kingdom of Sardinia had been modeled on British monarchical constitutionalism rather than American republicanism, and it is possible that Niles reported what he would have liked to hear rather than what he heard. On the other hand, it is also conceivable that Pareto, who was eager to intensify the commercial interaction between Sardinia and North America, thought it would serve his purpose to assert that his government admired and imitated the political organization of the United States. Though doubt can be cast on the truthfulness of both diplomats' words, what is significant is the proximity of Niles's advocacy of intervention and his account of his interview with Pareto, because the content of the latter casts an aura of rightfulness over actions aimed at imposing the political and commercial presence of the United States on Europe. If American democracy had been the catalyst for revolution in Italy, the argument ran, then it was the nation's duty to support these revolutions.

It is precisely this construction of European insurrections as an offspring of American republicanism that was employed to validate the most blatant official act of U.S. interference in favor of midcentury transatlantic liberalism—the protection offered to Louis Kossuth, leader of the Hungarian rebellion against Austrian domination in eastern Europe. After the Hungarian republic was crushed by the military intervention of Austria and Russia in 1849, Kossuth and some of his followers fled to Turkey, where they were arrested by the local government. When Austria demanded that the Hungarian patriots be extradited, the United States resolved to intervene in favor of Kossuth and offer him a passage to America under the protection of the American flag.[23] Secretary of State Daniel Webster responded to the protests of the Austrian representative in Washington, G. J. Hulsemann, with a long document whose central contention was that America could not ignore revolutions inspired by and patterned on their example. "True,

indeed, it is," wrote Webster, "that the prevalence on the other continent of sentiments favorable to republican liberty is the result of the reaction of America upon Europe; and the source and center of this reaction has doubtless been, and now is, in these United States." "When the people of the United States," he continued, "behold the people of foreign countries . . . spontaneously moving toward the adoption of institutions like their own, it surely cannot be expected of them to remain wholly indifferent spectators."[24]

Thus, the notion that the United States was already indirectly controlling Europe's political development justified America's direct exercise of power on the European scene. In the terminology employed to describe the constitution and organization of the imperial state, Webster had moved from envisioning the United States as the center of an ideological empire, radiating its influence toward a transatlantic periphery, to claiming the right for actions directed against traditional European powers—older centers of empires themselves—and aiming at replacing them. In fact, the rest of the letter is a threat to Austria. To Hulsemann's admonition that Austria would respond to American involvement in Europe by interrupting its commercial relations with the United States, Webster replied that his government had "no fear" of such retaliation since "the power of this republic . . . is spread over a region one of the richest and most fertile of the globe, and of an extant in comparison with which the possessions of the House of Hapsburg are but as a patch on the earth's surface."[25] As Webster acknowledged in his personal correspondence, the primary purpose of his Hulsemann letter was nationalist self-promotion, to "tell the people of Europe who and what we are, and awaken them to a just sense of the unparalleled growth of this country."[26] Revolutions in the Austrian dominions, including Italy and Hungary, offered the opportunity to exhibit U.S. power under the guise of political philanthropy.

Young America's Young Italy

Intervention in support of European liberalism found its most vocal advocates in Young America, a radical fringe of the Democratic Party that enjoyed a brief period of political preeminence around the 1852 presidential campaign. The members of Young America, a combination

of proslavery southwesterners who saw imperialism as a solution to the concentration of black labor in the South and northern financial magnates eager for the extension of American capital, promoted an ambitious expansionist policy aiming at the territorial acquisition of the whole of North and Central America and the assertion of political and economic influence over Europe through military and diplomatic support of transatlantic republicanism.[27] The affirmation of American power in Europe was endorsed in the pages of the *Democratic Review,* a popular liberal periodical that became the party's official organ when George N. Sanders of Kentucky bought it in 1852, and was actively pursued when the newly elected Democratic president, Franklin Pierce, rewarded Young America for its support during his campaign by nominating several of its members to important diplomatic posts in Europe. The relevance of Italian liberalism specifically to the imperialist cause championed by Young America is testified both by the space devoted to it in the *Democratic Review* and by the extensive correspondence between American diplomats in Europe and Italian republicans. Not coincidentally, it is an engraving depicting the leader of the Italian republican party, Giuseppe Mazzini, that Sanders selected for the opening page of the first issue of the *Review* published under his editorship (fig. 9).

The series of essays calling for American intervention in European affairs published in the *Democratic Review* blatantly disclose the relation between political philanthropy and national aggrandizement, which had been merely suggested by other texts. While they adopted and repeated the conventional argument legitimizing intrusion in other nations' political development with the notion of the indebtedness of transatlantic liberalism to the American model, it is the rhetoric of interest rather than that of duty that prevails. Such interest was in the first place economic. According to an anonymous contributor, "as the degree of oppressiveness of forms of government of the Old World is the measure of the restriction of our commercial intercourse with their people, our interest in the overturn of those governments is commensurate with the prospects of that intercourse." More importantly, though, Europe's fight against despotism offered the United States a "magnificent opportunity" to "take the lead of nations," become "the arbiter of the world," and "add to their present rank at sea the pacific and universal dominion on land"—in other words, to affirm America's political power beyond its continental boundaries.[28] Thus, if the essays refer to intervention as "our duty as freemen to the sufferers,"

FIGURE 9. *Portrait of Giuseppe Mazzini, from the* Democratic Review *30 (1852). The presence of this portrait of the leader of the Italian republican party in the* Democratic Review *testifies to the importance of Italian liberalism to Young America's designs for transatlantic political and mercantile expansion.*

they also explicitly declare that its goal is the fulfillment of a "manifest destiny" with global ambitions—the constitution of an American political empire.[29] Indeed, the central argument in the articles of the *Democratic Review* is not that the United States has the obligation to support Europe's fledging republics, but that it has the power to oppose Europe's traditional monarchies. The essays on intervention consistently include lengthy comparisons between the military and economic strength of the United States and that of Austria, Russia, or France intended to demonstrate America's advantage over its antagonists. The articles would insist, for instance, that the American navy was numerically stronger than that of all the absolutist states of Europe combined, observe that "we are inaccessible to them, whilst they in many ways are accessible to us," and conclude "let us declare *the right* [of intervention], and let absolutism know that we shall *act* on it, whenever our own policy, our own self-respect, and the chances of success, are in our favor."[30] Ultimately, the goal of the proposed American intervention in Europe was offensive, aimed at imposing the political as well as economic weight of the transatlantic republic on the European scene, and the protection proffered to liberal initiatives functioned as a means to that end.

The returns of intervention are central to the first of the *Democratic Review*'s essays devoted specifically to Italy, "Mazzini—Young Europe," a sympathetic tale of the persecutions suffered by the Italian republican party at the hands of Italy's absolutist monarchs. According to the article's author, by supporting liberalism abroad the United States would gain not only "national self-confidence" and "foreign absolutist respect," but also "foreign republican love."[31] Italian revolutionists were aware that the prospect of such "foreign republican love," the economic and diplomatic privileges that would be granted to political allies, was a strong inducement to encourage an American intervention, and they tried to manipulate the U.S. imperialist urge to their own advantage. In his correspondence with the Young Americans nominated by President Pierce to diplomatic posts in Europe, Mazzini explicitly promised to foster the growth of America's commercial and political power over the European continent—in exchange for military and economic aid and diplomatic recognition. To the ambassador to Spain, Pierre Soulé, who was reported to be in possession of a large sum to finance European insurrections, for instance, he wrote in 1855 that "les peuples ne sont pas ingrats: la nationalité italienne n'aura besoin que d'un mot, d'une révélation, pour tendre les bras au peuple qui lui aura fourni aide et secours,

pour en favorisez l'influence en Europe par toutes ses forces."[32] Along the same lines, in 1857 he instructed Jessie White Mario, an English supporter of Italian republicanism who gave a series of lectures on the situation of Italy in the United States, to offer "concessions which American trade and navigation are in want of, and even some 'stazione navale' would most likely be conceded."[33] In sum, as he declared in an 1854 document on the progress of the republican cause in Italy, Mazzini knew that the "expansionistic designs" of the United States, and especially the new president's "program of intervention in European politics," could favor his own very different cause, and accordingly he encouraged such transcontinental ambitions.[34]

Although the role played by Italian republicans in the American imperialist venture should be acknowledged, it should be underscored that they rejected the U.S. imperialist rationale, namely that it was America's duty to intervene in favor of republics modeled on its example. Mazzini ignored this line of reasoning in his correspondence with Young Americans and chose instead to appeal to America's interest only. As discussed in chapter 1, in his other writing he underscored the difference between his democratic ideal and American republicanism, which he repeatedly criticized for its laissez-faire social policies and its selective application of the right to freedom to whites only. In other words, whereas Young America situated the United States at the center of the political renovation of the world to legitimize America's expansionism, Italian liberals, who undoubtedly had an interest in and seconded such expansionism, also distanced themselves from American liberal democracy.

In order to reap the advantages of "foreign love" promised by the Italian revolutionists, however, Young America needed to persuade the American public that Italians—specifically, Italian democrats—deserved intervention in their favor to start with. Unlike other groups, in fact, Young America opted to side with Mazzini's radical republicanism rather than with the moderate constitutionalism of the king of Sardinia or the benevolent reformism of the pope. The reason for this choice may have been that the events of 1848–49 had augmented the prestige of the revolutionary party. While the king of Sardinia had been easily and repeatedly defeated, the republics of Rome and Venice had posed a strenuous and valorous defense to the foreign armies attacking them. Indeed, one could think that the future of Italy was in the hands of Mazzini and his followers, and Young America may have wanted to ally itself with the party most likely to succeed

in the end. More importantly though, the forms of active military and diplomatic intervention advocated by Sanders, Soulé, and others could be justified only in support of republics. Although it could be argued that it was the U.S. duty and right to defend governments modeled on American democracy, that was not the case for intervention in favor of enlightened monarchy or benign theocracy. In the midst of a vast majority of American representations of Italian republicanism as either a laughable parody or disquieting, anarchic perversion of American democracy, the *Democratic Review* thus offered a depiction of Mazzini's republicanism as both the only way to Italy's freedom and a successful implementation of American principles on foreign grounds.

As propaganda for a radical type of intervention that could be sanctioned only in support of republicanism, the writings on Italy in the *Democratic Review* strive to demonstrate the superiority of the Italian republican party to the monarchical and papal factions. In September 1852, the magazine published a lengthy two-part essay entitled "Monarchy and the Republic in Italy: Campaigns of Charles Albert and of the Republicans." The article overviewed in detail the events of 1848–49, from the successful insurrections of the people of Milan and Venice against the Austrians to the intervention of Charles Albert of Sardinia in their support and his ruinous defeats at Custoza and Novara, and from Pius IX's flight from Rome and the proclamation of the Roman republic to the city's resistance against the French and its final surrender. The anonymous author of this brief history of Italy's most recent political upheavals offered a scathing portrayal of both Charles Albert and Pius IX. According to this rendition of the events, the king of Sardinia had lost because of his military incompetence and his refusal to avail himself of the assistance offered him by volunteers associated with Mazzini's republican party. Specifically, while "Mazzini and his party offered to compromise with constitutional monarchy, on the one condition of his securing Italian unity and independence," Charles Albert, "dreading to appeal to the people, and maneuvering rather against republicanism than against the enemy, . . . let[] slip the opportunity of victory, and was crushed in two successive campaigns."[35] Since most contemporary American reports on these incidents had accused the democrats, with their campaign against the annexation of Lombardy to the Kingdom of Sardinia, of having been the cause of Charles Albert's delay in attacking the Austrians, the account offered by the *Democratic Review* was intentionally

reversing a more common narrative that damaged the image of Italian republicanism.

This is true of the re-creation of Rome's rebellion against the pope as well. According to the *Democratic Review,* Pius IX never intended to carry out the program of reforms that had gained him the support of his subjects. On the contrary, "finding that his mere promise had given general and premature contentment, and secured him unprecedented popularity, he thought it needless to perform, and then resented as black ingratitude his people's consequent discontent." Once again, this interpretation of the events stands in sharp contrast with the predominant argument that the pope had merely refused to give his people more liberty than he sincerely believed they could safely enjoy. In fact, the *Democratic Review* took pains to depict the Romans as a wise and peaceful population, especially when recounting those incidents in the establishment of the republic that were most likely to present them as an anarchic mob—the murder of the pope's prime minister and the attack on the pope's palace. Other American narratives of the Risorgimento frequently ascribed the killing of Pellegrino Rossi to the democratic party and capitalized on it to maintain that the Italians were not ready for republicanism, and that such a political experiment would collapse into anarchy. Frightful descriptions of the explosion of popular rage against the pope served the same purpose. The writer of the *Democratic Review* denied the veracity of these antirepublican accounts—"calumnies of the re-actionaries and their Fogy supporters"—and set out to rewrite them. It was not the republicans, but either the Jesuits or the Piedmontese monarchy that had ordered Rossi's death, and the supposed mobocratic attack against the Quirinal had been merely a "demonstration" against the appointment of a reactionary ministry. If anything went wrong, it was the fault of the pope's guard, who fired against the people when the crowd was already dispersing. And though the Romans had "peaceably retired" when he declared he would select a more liberal ministry, Pius IX, "who had only made these concessions to deceive his subjects," fled that very night to Gaeta, in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, accompanied by a "lady of loose character."[36] Of course, this narrative is not any "truer" than those it meant to revise. In fact, contemporary historians agree that although Rossi was hated by the clergy because he had taxed their property, by Piedmont because he opposed its expansionist policy, and by the democrats because he believed a war of independence would

be premature, it was the latter who murdered him.[37] The point is that the *Democratic Review*'s version of the events defends Italian republicanism from charges leveled at it not only by reactionary European powers but by those Americans referred to here as "Fogies." And "Fogies" was how Young America disrespectfully called the more conservative wing of the Democratic Party opposed to intervention in Europe.

The heroes of this tale of a king's fear and a pope's lies are the republicans, whose civic and military virtue are exalted by the narrator. Just as the domestic policy of the "wise," "moderate," and "orderly" republican government established in Rome after the pope's flight offers a "favorable contrast to the priestly, despotic and monarchical governments of Italy," so does its military prowess. The essays offer extremely detailed accounts of the campaign of Charles Albert against Austria and the Romans' defense of the republic against the foreign armies sent to destroy it under the leadership of general Giuseppe Garibaldi, whose portrait opens the narration. They inform the reader of the number of soldiers and weapons available on either side at any moment and provide maps of all major battles with rectangular icons of different sizes and colors to indicate the position of the different armies and their respective strength. The argument supported by this collection of data is that while the king of Sardinia was shamefully defeated by a numerically inferior army, the republicans successfully defended Rome against a far stronger enemy. As the writer put it, "under circumstances of the greatest discouragement, after Italian monarchy had been crushed in the field with 100,000 men, and when a victorious Austrian, a Neapolitan, a French, and a Spanish army, was arrayed against it, 14,000 republicans made head for two months against 26,000 Neapolitans, 30,000 Austrians and 35,000 French, and defended the eternal city in the longest and most glorious siege it had sustained since its foundation." The maps corroborate the story told by the text by consistently representing Charles Albert's army with larger icons than those employed for the Austrian army, even when the numbers provided with the icons to indicate the exact numerical strength of the armies suggest that the opposite should have been done (fig. 10). Conversely, the maps of the siege of Rome always assign larger icons to the French than to the republicans. Words and images thus combine to prove the incompetence of the king and the capability of the republicans, who had "vindicated by [their] valor the ability of the Italians to conquer and defend that freedom which they had proved their capacity to enjoy without

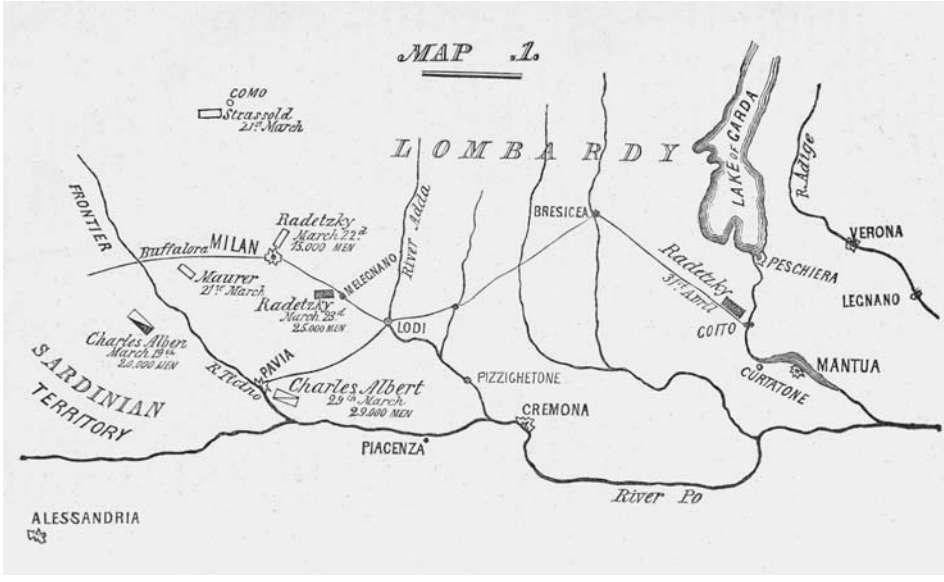


FIGURE 10. *Map 1 of the second campaign of Charles Albert, from the* Democratic Review *31 (1852). A series of five maps, three detailing King Charles Albert's confrontation with the Austrian army and two the republican insurgents' defense of Rome against the French, accompanied articles on the military incompetence of the king of Sardinia and the valor of the Romans, in a periodical of the time.*

abusing." The essay asked the readers to infer by the events of the defense of Rome what the "republican principle might have accomplished with anything like adequate means."[38] The problem with Italian republicanism was not, as opponents of intervention maintained, that Italians were not ready for democracy, but that they lacked the armies and weapons available to Austria and France. And it was precisely these "adequate means" that the United States could provide.

And provide them they should, considering that the principles of the Italian revolutionists, as represented by Young Americans, were the same as those upon which the United States had been founded. Edmund Farrenc's serialized novel *Republican Sketches: Ciceroacchio; or, The Roman Patriot,* published in the *Democratic Review* in 1852 as well, also depicts Italian democrats as the pursuers of American-type democracy. The narrative is entitled after the Roman republican Angelo Brunetti, who was known as

Ciceroacchio because of his ability to harangue the people, and who organized popular demonstrations against Pius IX, participated in the defense of Rome, and was executed by the Austrians after the capitulation of the republic. The central episode in the novel, which recounts the events immediately preceding the establishment of the Roman republic, is an interview between Brunetti and Lord Minto, a British diplomat who lectures him against the use of violence as a means of obtaining freedom. To the latter's advice that the people be "patient," "calm," and especially "moderate," that they "try legal methods," rather than a "system of revolt and physical force," and thus obtain liberty without "sacrific[ing] peace," Brunetti responds that the people have lawfully expressed their demands "thousands and thousands of times" already and obtained only violence in return. In 1833, "petitions from all parts of Italy" requested that the pope admit laymen to offices of the government and permit his subjects to elect their municipal councils, he explains, but "the petitions received no answer." On the contrary, an army was raised and "poured into Romagna, a part of Italy where petitions had been most urgent, and there they massacred men, women, and children." An authorial note adds to and corroborates Brunetti's words with a list of all major prosecutions of liberalism in Italy from the "three patriots executed at Naples, eleven at Salerno, [and] twenty at Bosco" in 1828, to the "thirteen individuals shot in Palermo" in 1833, to the "twenty-nine death sentences at Modena" in 1837 and the "horrid butchery" following the revolutions of 1848. Thus, Ciceroacchio's justification for the recourse to force is that "the people have always been moderate and generous—the government, never." As nineteenth-century Americans could not have missed, this story of subjects' petitions and governments' absolutist denials is an adaptation to revolutionary Italy of America's own foundational narrative in the Declaration of Independence. As re-created by interventionist propaganda, Ciceroacchio speaks in Rome the words that eighteenth-century Americans had spoken when rejecting the authority of the king of England. They too had exchanged "patient sufferance" with war only after a "long train of abuses and usurpations"—after they had "petitioned for redress in the most humble terms," and their "repeated petitions [had] been answered only by repeated injuries." The connection of Italian and American patriotism, which is here implicit, becomes explicit as the dialogue between the Italian patriot and the English lord proceeds. When Minto asks how Italians expect to end their monarchs' right to

sovereign power "without doing an injustice," Brunetti replies that they will do so "in the same manner as the United States against your own country," by "expelling our tyrants, and preventing them from oppressing us any more."[39] Young America's Italians walk in the footsteps of the signers of the Declaration of Independence while reciting their very words. And, of course, the identity thus established between the principles of the Italian republican party of the 1850s and those of eighteenth-century American revolutionists was a powerful argument in favor of intervention, for how could Americans fail to assist a revolution that was a replica of their own?

Imperial Contests on Italian Grounds

The villains of this American re-creation of midcentury Roman patriotism are English diplomats. Lord Minto, like Ciceroacchio a narrative rendition of a historical figure, plots in *Republican Sketches* with the most conservative fringe of the Catholic Church, the Sanfedisti, and with the absolutist powers of Europe, Austria, and Russia, to have the too liberal Pius IX abdicate and to mass-murder Mazzini's followers in Rome. Authorial notes throughout the text lend authority to such incidents in the narrative as Minto's attempt to bribe Ciceroacchio and secure the arrest of the patriots, and his cooperation with the Sanfedisti to curb the pope's liberalism and destroy the democratic party. "The mission of Lord Minto," declares one of these corroborating notes, "had no positive character. It partook of that double and treacherous policy of the English cabinet, which, during successive ages, has been skillful enough to gull other people with a semblance of liberality." "Lord Minto," it continues, "was told by Lord Palmerston to visit the different Courts of Italy, and to recommend them, if they wanted to save their crowns in the tempest evidently gathering, to grant some semblance of a Constitution, to sow dissension among their subjects, to irritate leaders against leaders . . . , in a word to arouse passions, to tire the people, and to profit by their first moment of rest, and take back what they had granted." Analogously, the assertion of Jesuit Father Francisco, leader of the Sanfedisti, that "English policy [is] always the best friend of Rome and of the Church of Rome," and that "if other nations were half as efficacious in their services as these Englishmen are, the liberals, democrats, or republicans . . . would not have so many reasons of rejoicing

at their progress," is confirmed by a long historical note on the presumed "Alliance of Papacy with England" since the end of the eighteenth century.[40] This combination of narrative and authenticating marginalia finds further support in the texts intermingled with the installments of *Roman Sketches* in the volumes of the *Democratic Review.* The essay entitled "The Crisis in Europe: Intervention of the United States," for instance, ascribes the fall of the Roman republic to the "treachery of England to freedom."[41] According to its author, the British government, anxious that the success of republicanism on the continent would reinforce antiaristocratic feelings in England, had conspired to suppress Mazzini's republic and reinstate the pope. Thus, the novel tells a tale of British political hypocrisy, historical notes confirm its accuracy, and other essays repeat it. Although this apparatus of corroborating texts aims at establishing the truthfulness of the thesis, the very eagerness of the contributors to the *Democratic Review* to accumulate evidence of England's enmity to continental republicanism ultimately casts doubt on their version of the events.

Britain's attitude toward Italian liberalism was, in fact, quite different from its depiction in the pages of the *Democratic Review.* Although England did favor a course of reforms intended to avoid the explosion of revolutions that might affect Great Britain, it did not contribute to the midcentury repression. Far from being opposed to papal reformism, after the insurrections of 1831 in Romagna, Britain urged Gregory XVI to adopt a course of reforms. Prime Minister Lord John Russell officially declared his approval of Pius IX's liberalism in 1847, and Queen Victoria wrote to the pope to applaud his desire to improve the conditions of his people. Gilbert Elliott, Earl of Minto, the villain of *Republican Sketches,* was sent on a diplomatic mission to Italy in 1847 to recommend to the various Italian princes that they grant moderate reforms and to aid the pope in overcoming the conservative opposition to his political and economic innovations. When the pope escaped to Gaeta and the Romans proclaimed a republic, John Freeborn, English consular agent in Rome, transmitted positive accounts of Mazzini's administration to London. And although England was in favor of the restoration of the pope, it intended to obtain the restoration through diplomatic means and censured French military intervention in 1849.[42] It is precisely French intervention in support of the pope that the *Democratic Review* does not mention. The narrative closes on a British and Jesuitical plot to extinguish the democratic party in Rome, before the establishment

of the republic and the appearance of a French army to put the city under siege. Thus, the story is interrupted before it needs to recount a section of the events where the French rather than the English would figure as "traitors to freedom." In fact, even when they do narrate the siege of Rome, the essays of the *Democratic Review* do not dwell on the central role played by France in the destruction of Mazzini's republic. "Monarchy and the Republic in Italy," for instance, which describes in detail the Romans' resistance against the troops led by General Oudinot, declares that "we will not pause here to narrate how insidiously the French Assembly was deceived into sending an expedition to Italy," and that it will "suffice to say that on the 25th of April the French fleet having on board a force under the command of Oudinot appeared before Civitta [*sic*] Vecchia."[43] Given the consistency with which French guilt is either not mentioned or glided over, one may hypothesize that it served the agenda of the *Democratic Review* best to reserve the role of villains for the English.

At the time of the publication of *Republican Sketches,* with its insistence on the alliance between British aristocracy and the most reactionary fringes of the Catholic Church, moreover, England was traversing one of the most severe episodes of anti-Catholicism in the century. When Pius IX officially established in Britain the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church in 1850, Protestants of all persuasions and from all levels of society rose to protest what they perceived as the encroachments of Rome over the religious independence of the nation. Prime Minister Lord John Russell publicly condemned the pope's "pretension of supremacy over the realm of England" and introduced a bill proposing to place civil penalties against the use of ecclesiastical titles related to cities or areas in England unless approved by the crown.[44] The bill became a law in August 1851. Meanwhile, William Gladstone, who had been in Rome shortly after the overthrow of the republic, started translating Luigi Carlo Farini's monumental indictment of the papal government, *The Roman States from 1815 to 1850,* whose first English volume was available in London in 1851. In that same year Gladstone also published two renowned public letters to the Earl of Aberdeen on the persecution of political offenders by the king of Naples, the very sovereign who had welcomed the pope after his escape from Rome and contributed to his restoration. The *Democratic Review*'s narrative of the "alliance of papacy with England" thus stands in sharp contrast with contemporary events in Britain—events of which Americans, given the circulation of printed materials between the two countries, were perfectly aware.

If the representation of British policy as antagonistic to Italian liberalism and supportive of papal temporal power in the *Democratic Review* is a fabrication, it is one congruent with the intended effect of the text. Like all of Young America's accounts of Italian revolutions, *Republican Sketches,* with its rendition of Italian patriots as worthy disciples of eighteenth-century American revolutionists, functions as propaganda for intervention in support of Italy's cause. Intervention would then allow the United States to assert its political authority in Europe and obtain advantageous commercial relations that would open new markets to its exports. Thus, although its subject is ostensibly the political unrest in Rome in 1848, *Republican Sketches* is ultimately about the construction of the American empire, about what facilitates its expansion and what instead hinders it. Mazzini and his followers, who in 1852 were trying to obtain U.S. political and economic support for their enterprise and promising ports and commercial treaties in exchange, figure as the heroes. But England, as an established imperial power opposed to the rise of the United States to imperial status, could only be the villain.

By midcentury the relationships between the United States and England had become extremely strained. England had consistently striven to thwart the U.S. imperial cause both in terms of territorial aggrandizement and global commercial expansion. When Texas declared its independence from Mexico, Britain favored the creation of an autonomous republic over annexation to the United States. As Americans well understood, an independent Texas allied to England would not only have contained the southern expansion of the United States but provided Britain with an alternative source of raw cotton for its textile industry and thus broken the American monopoly on that product. Once Texas was annexed to the United States in December 1845, the controversy moved southward to Central America, where both England and the United States planned the construction of an isthmian canal that would allow their commercial navies to reach the markets of China and Japan without circumnavigating the South American continent. In 1847 Britain tried to prevent Americans from seizing control of transit routes across Central America by extending its control over the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua, the likely eastern terminus of a canal. Americans responded by establishing treaties with Nicaragua that would provide the United States with exclusive control of any canal in exchange for an American guarantee of Nicaraguan sovereignty over all its territories, included those occupied by the British. Although the situation was

temporarily resolved by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, establishing that neither the United States nor Britain would have exclusive transit privileges and that neither nation could establish colonies in the area, the 1852 British occupation of the Bay Islands, on the eastern coast of Honduras, reopened the controversy. Still in 1852, a British war fleet attacked and seized American fishing vessels on the Nova Scotia coast, an act interpreted by Americans as a violation of the U.S. right to visit the North Atlantic fisheries, established by treaty at the end of the War of Independence. Most importantly, though, the British empire was a commercial monopoly working on the principle of imperial preference, which mandated that only England could benefit from unrestricted free trade with its colonies, while merchants from all other nations were subjected to taxation.[45] The controversies with England over Texas, Nicaragua, the North Atlantic fisheries, and, above all, the duties imposed on American trade in Britain's colonial markets fill the pages of the *Democratic Review.* Essay after essay, such as "Who Owns British North America?" and "The Islands of the Gulf of Honduras: Their Seizure and Organization as a British Colony," denounces Britain—the "armed European bully"—for interfering with the territorial and commercial growth of the United States.[46] And interspersed among these expositions of British policy are the episodes of *Republican Sketches,* whose negative portrayal of English diplomacy in revolutionary Rome acquires global resonance when examined in their context.

The struggle for empire between England and the United States took place in the Mediterranean as well as in the Pacific and the Atlantic. In the nineteenth century, the Mediterranean was virtually a British sea, heavily traveled by Britain's mercantile navy and patrolled by its military fleet, which kept its headquarters on the island of Malta. Yet, as contemporary commercial treatises and diplomatic dispatches indicate, the United States was eager to enter trade compacts with Mediterranean countries and provide them directly with the American cotton, flour, sugar, and petroleum that they had previously bought at a higher price from England. The explosion of revolutions in Europe added political connotations to the economic rivalry between the two countries. England and the United States, both conscious of the economic advantages that would derive from the liberalization of European politics—especially for whoever seconded such a process—found themselves competing for the title of defender of freedom. The possibility of British intervention in support of Italian liberal-

ism was a cause of concern to Americans because they rightly perceived the connection between political philanthropy and commercial and diplomatic power. Commenting on England's official censure of the Austrian occupation of Ferrara, for instance, Robert Wickliffe, American representative in Turin, wrote to James Buchanan in 1847 that "France has abdicated her ancient & chiefest glory—that of being the protectress of liberty throughout Europe. England seems ambitious to take her place and protects liberalism in Switzerland as well as Italy." "As the British Cabinet, however, seldom acts without strong motives of interest," he continued, "the Italians think that it has an eye on Sicily, but say that they would be willing to give up that island, provided the unity, liberty, and independence of the residue of their country were secured by English aid."[47]

The prospect of Sicily becoming an English protectorate was alarming because it could entail the abrogation of the treaty of commercial reciprocity that the United States had only recently signed with the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and possibly make sulfur, the product the United States was most interested in importing from Sicily, much more costly. When Lord Minto was sent on a diplomatic mission to the sovereigns of Italy to persuade them to adopt liberal reforms and was successful in convincing Ferdinand II of Naples to grant his Sicilian subjects the separate parliament they had been demanding, several New York newspapers, among others the *Herald* and the *Daily Tribune,* ran alarmed editorials suggesting that England intended to annex Sicily and that the United States should send their military fleet to cruise Sicilian waters in order to prevent it.[48] That English diplomats should be the villains in the *Democratic Review*'s tale of Italian republicanism, and that their wickedness should be their political duplicity—their pretending to be on the side of the republicans while in fact they upheld the status quo—thus functions to discredit Britain as protector of European liberalism, a role whose duties, and especially whose rewards, the United States aimed at obtaining for itself.

With the philo-Italianism and the Anglophobia of *Republican Sketches,* the trajectory started with John Martin Baker's call for U.S. commercial expansion in the Mediterranean and Nicholas Browne's suggestion that his government support European liberalism has come full circle. The American project of economic expansion in Italy was obstructed by the political configuration of the Italian peninsula and the strong presence of British traders in its markets. The rise of Italian liberalism was hailed in the United

States as a promise for a more prosperous Italy guided by believers in free trade. The difficulties Italy encountered in its quest for political and social freedom, moreover, were perceived as a unique occasion for the extension of American diplomatic and mercantile influence to transatlantic territories. England, however, also interested in the constitution of a rich and free Italian market, once again preceded the United States by proposing itself as champion of the cause of Italy. *Republican Sketches* expresses American imperial urges and frustrations in its exaltation of Italian liberalism and its denigration of Britain, respectively occasion for and obstacle to the growth of its commercial and political power. The silent, concealed protagonist of this tale of Italian patriotism and British treachery is thus American imperial thrust, the desire to dominate the trade with Genoa or Palermo and to be, in Browne's words, "a controlling power" on the European continent.

The United States never intervened in favor of Italian republicanism. Already by 1854, Young America's influence was on the wane. Sanders was recalled from England for writing a letter to the *London Times* expressing his hope that Napoleon III would be assassinated. Soulé was forced to resign his position as minister to Spain for signing the Ostend Manifest, a document stating that the United States would be justified in wresting Cuba from Spain if they could not buy it. O'Sullivan, minister to Portugal, was similarly recalled. Although Sanders and Mazzini continued to correspond until 1858, the promised American military, diplomatic, and economic aid never materialized. The *Democratic Review*'s loud advocacy for intervention thus resulted in nothing. Still, it cannot be dismissed as a short-lived anomaly in nineteenth-century American foreign policy. As we have seen, the idea that offering protection to transatlantic republicanism was a means to augment American power circulated widely, if in less radical forms, outside Young America's circle. As such it should be considered when articulating our understanding of American imperialism around 1850: its prospects extended beyond the American continent and reached the Mediterranean, its goals were political and commercial as well as territorial, and its legitimizing myths included political philanthropy.

At home one gets callous about the character of Washington, from a long experience of 4th of July bombast in his praise. But seeing the struggles of other nations, and the deficiencies of the leaders who try to sustain them, the heart is again stimulated and puts forth buds of praise.
—Margaret Fuller, *New-York Daily Tribune,* 16 May 1849

3 An American Jeremiah in Rome

Margaret Fuller's Tribune *Dispatches*

"I go to behold the wonders of art, and the temples of old religion," declared Margaret Fuller to the readers of her literary column in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on the eve of her departure for Europe in August 1846. "But I shall not see," she added with reassuring nationalistic pride, "no [*sic*] form of beauty and majesty beyond what my Country is capable of producing in a myriad variety if she has but the soul to will it."[1] As she traveled through England and France and eventually settled in Italy, however, Fuller was to see and report about much more than the masterpieces of European art. She was in Rome when the newly elected

reformist pope Pius IX refused to go to war against Austria and thereby lost the support of his subjects, who had hoped he would assume the role of moral leader of the political reform of Italy. She witnessed the people's growing opposition to papal rule, which culminated in the murder of conservative prime minister Pellegrino Rossi and the assault on Pius IX's own residence to demand the appointment of a liberal ministry. She remained in Rome after the pope fled the city and a constitutional assembly elected by universal male suffrage proclaimed the end of the temporal rule of the popes and the establishment of a republic of the people. And she stayed on throughout Rome's brief republican interlude from February to July 1849, when the French army that had come to the aid of the pope succeeded in conquering the city despite the tenacious resistance put up by the Romans and liberal volunteers from all over Italy. As she described these events in her dispatches to the *Tribune,* Fuller deviated from the nationalist position she had adopted in 1846. While she had then believed that the presence of democracy rendered America superior to Europe in spite of the latter's cultural patrimony, in revolutionary Rome she reversed the comparison to elevate Italy over America. By April 1848, she was writing to her readers that she could not be persuaded to return home because "My country is at present . . . stupid with the lust of gain [and] soiled by crime in its willing perpetuation of Slavery," whereas in Rome, "amid the teachings of adversity a nobler spirit is struggling—a spirit which cheers and animates mine."[2] Italy had seemingly become in her mind freer than America.

These statements, together with Fuller's praise of the conduct of the Roman revolutionists against allegations that the city had fallen into anarchy, her censure of the French military intervention, and her repeated calls for American expressions of sympathy toward the new republic—not to mention her own participation in the defense of Rome as the director of one of the city's hospitals for the wounded—have led U.S. critics to read Fuller's account of the Roman republic as an anomaly among American re-creations of mid-nineteenth-century Italy. According to the accepted interpretation of the *Tribune* dispatches, while her compatriots either ignored the Risorgimento altogether and continued to perceive Italy in a purely aestheticized manner or described it negatively and with the purpose of celebrating America's political exceptionalism, Fuller not only made contemporary Italy the focus of her narrative but exalted Italian republicanism over American democracy.[3] Bell Gale Chevigny best expresses

this consensus when she argues that Fuller was "radically apart" from those American travelers in Italy who "came to confirm their sense of national superiority" and "refurbish their sense of special destiny."[4] On the contrary, writes Chevigny, "Fuller denied the specialness and autonomy of American destiny [and] offered the actual struggle of a foreign people as a guide to completing the American Revolution."[5]

This chapter offers a different interpretation of Fuller's encounter with Italy. Instead of reading her negative comparison between democracy in Italy and America in isolation, I situate it within the broader context of American oratorical practices. I argue that far from being an exceptional and unprecedented statement, Fuller's critique of America lies within the tradition of the jeremiad, a lament over the nation's failure to live up to its original promise that reaffirms national dreams while deploring the failure of will to pursue them.[6] I find confirmation of Fuller's adherence to the ideology of American republican exceptionalism in the comparison between the public discourse of the dispatches and the private text of her correspondence and personal journal. While the public dispatches mostly offer a celebratory image of revolutionary Rome, one intended to shame America into redressing its wrongs, the private letters, which do not have that purpose, often express doubt about the Italians' readiness for republicanism and at times contrast sharply with the positive evaluations of the dispatches.[7] Even the dispatches, moreover, are occasionally characterized by an aestheticized approach to the Roman revolution that betrays Fuller's inability to escape nationalistic ideology in spite of her insights elsewhere into the identity of discourses of power that intend to marginalize nondominant groups, including the very patriarchal rhetoric she had critiqued in her feminist writings.

The Critic as Jeremiah

By the time she left for Europe to report on popular revolts against extreme political and economic stratification in England, France, and Italy, Fuller had become an outspoken critic of America's own deviations from the principle of human equality. She had denounced patriarchal restrictions on women's rights to the development and expression of their natures in *Woman in the Nineteenth Century.* She had censured racial

prejudice against Native Americans in *Summer on the Lakes in 1843,* an account of a trip west that allowed her to witness the devastating effects of American imperialism on the original inhabitants of the land. Encouraged by Horace Greeley, the liberal editor of the *New-York Daily Tribune* who had hired her as the lead columnist in 1844, moreover, she had written a series of biting articles including condemnations of the war against Mexico, which she read as a means to preserve slavery, and exposures of the growing levels of abject poverty in developing urban communities.[8]

For Fuller, who had been trained by her Harvard-educated lawyer and congressman father in the political and rhetorical tradition of the revolution, the emergence of inequality in America on the multiple axes of gender, race, and class stood in sharp contrast to the egalitarian principles on which the country had been founded.[9] It is precisely as a breach of democratic promise that Fuller constantly depicts the corruption of republicanism that accompanied national geographical and economic growth. Commenting on the news of a U.S. victory in the struggle with Mexico over Texas, a conflict caused to a large extent by the Anglo-American colonists' determination to employ slave labor in defiance of the Mexican government, she writes, "Vain have been the hopes that the victories of this country would be over wrong and ignorance, not mere conquest of the bodies of other men to obtain their possessions or guard our own." That the "wolves of war," as Fuller describes her country's aggressive militarism, should "rage abroad without the slightest excuse from hunger" was all the more reprehensible precisely because "all omens marked out [this country] as the dominion where the hopes of the Prince of Peace might be realized."[10]

Fuller's condemnation of national policies as a failure to live up to the expectation that a country established upon the declaration that all men are equal would achieve a most perfect state of democracy is by no means idiosyncratic. On the contrary, it is a textbook example of the rhetorical genre that Sacvan Bercovitch calls the "American jeremiad." First produced among seventeenth-century Puritans as a form of ritualistic complaint because of the apparent failure of Puritan society to fulfill its task of religious self-perfection and world redemption, the jeremiad survived the demise of Puritan theocracy to become central to American political rhetoric. In the secular version of the jeremiad adopted by Fuller and her contemporaries,

America's mission had been reinterpreted as a political one, namely the realization of a model democratic society and the spreading of the blessings of democracy worldwide.[11]

While the sphere of action of the jeremiad shifted from religion to politics, its basic elements remained the same. According to Bercovitch, all jeremiads cite the promise that the new nation would realize a democratic ideal and contrast it with the present state of decline, whether it be represented by the endurance of slavery or the emergence of an indigent industrial working class. The measure of the failure of America to fulfill its destiny lies in the obvious disparity between expectations and actuality. The examination of Fuller's jeremiads, however, suggests that the comparison between revolutionary idealism and present corruption was often supplemented by an additional comparison between nineteenth-century America and other coeval or past civilizations, and that Bercovitch's model may need to be elaborated in new ways. In the article reviewing the successful U.S. military campaign in Texas mentioned earlier, for instance, Fuller equated American foreign policy with the aggressive imperialism of the Roman Empire. In her words, "Our Stars have lighted us only to the ancient heathen—the vulgar path of national aggrandizement; and our Eagle, like the Roman, loves better to snatch its prey from the field than to soar to the purer regions near the source of light."[12] Given that American political thought had traditionally imputed Rome's decline from republicanism to absolutism and the fall of the empire itself to the city's territorial expansion, Fuller's comparison functioned both as an index of America's political malaise and an omen of worse to come.

In two articles for the *Tribune* composed on the occasion of the New Year in 1845 and 1846, Fuller used analogies with other nations extensively to illustrate the decline of American democracy. In her 1845 "New Year's Day," an invective against the toleration of slavery by the people who had been placed "in charge . . . [of] the arc of human hopes," she compared America and ancient Rome once more, this time to declare Christian America inferior to pagan Rome. While the ancients celebrated the new year by "enfranchis[ing] [their] slaves, to show that devotion to the Gods induced a sympathy with men," Americans were "busy in contriving measures that may best rivet the fetters of those now chained, and forge them strongest for millions yet unborn"—possibly a reference to debates in Congress over

the extension of slavery in territories to be acquired from Mexico or to the production of a vast body of proslavery literature in the 1840s. America, Fuller concluded, had become worse than Austria: the most conservative of all European powers would at least appeal only to the "legitimacy of blood," the absolute power of the aristocracy over the commoners, to justify the oppression of its subjects, but the United States dared appeal to "legitimacy as seen from a moral point of view" and pretend that colonialism and the slave trade were righteous enterprises. A year afterward, in "1st January, 1846," Fuller deplored that with the annexation of Texas as a slave state and the religious persecution of the Mormons in Illinois, her country had further abased itself and "laid aside the glorious office, assigned her by Fate, of Herald of Freedom, Light of Peace to the civilized world." Instead, America had become like Russia, a nation renowned for its aggressive foreign policy in Eastern Europe, retrograde feudal social structure, and discrimination against its Jewish minority. America now defended its actions "on the true Russian grounds: 'We (the stronger) know what you (the weaker) ought to do and be, and it *shall* be so.' "[13] Whatever the term of comparison in these examples, the parallel drawn between the American republic and empires or despotisms past and present always functions to give a dramatic gauge of the state of corruption of American republicanism, a corruption with which Fuller wants to confront her too complacent readers.

As a traveler in Italy at a time of social unrest, Fuller found new options for her comparative indictments of American republicanism. In her New Year's Day article for 1848, for instance, she argued that the ideal of equality was cherished and pursued to a further extent in Italy, where despotic sovereigns were resolute to fight it, than in the United States, where it had always had the opportunity to find full realization. In her words, in spite of Austrian and Russian tyranny, "Europe toils and struggles with her idea, and, at this moment, all things bode and declare a new outbreak of fire, to destroy old palaces of crime." America, which had been called to be "champion of the rights of men," had instead been corrupted by "a boundless lust of gain" and turned into "a robber and a jailer; . . . her eyes fixed, not on the stars, but on the possession of other men." A few months later, in the aftermath of the pope's flight from Rome, Fuller returned to the idea that the seat of democracy had moved from a corrupted America to a regenerated Italy in the often quoted passage that has led readers of the *Tribune* dispatches to consider them an exception among U.S. narratives

of the Italian revolutions. To friends who urged her to return home by praising America to her as "the land of the Future," she would reply that "it is so, but that spirit which made America all it is of value in my eyes, which gave all of hope with which I can sympathize for that Future, is more alive here at present than in America."[14]

Undeniably, Fuller was pronouncing Italy superior to America. Still, the critic's evaluation of the antinationalistic import of Fuller's statements should be tempered by the observation that they occur within the boundaries of the jeremiad, which mandated that the lament over the corruption of American democracy be expressed by means of a comparison between promise and actuality. Fuller had employed such a rhetorical ritual on several occasions before coming to Europe, often combining the prescribed comparison between the revolutionary era and the disappointing present with an additional one comparing America and other nations. Whether the term of comparison be, as in the early articles, Russia or ancient Rome or, as in the late ones, contemporary Italy, such comparisons were not intended to have referential so much as argumentative value. In other words, their purpose was not to describe accurately the relative state of democracy in the United States and other countries but rather to paint such a bleak picture of republicanism in America as to induce its citizens to take action and redress the situation. Thus, like the Puritan sermon from which it descended, Fuller's secular jeremiad condemned in order to bring about political regeneration.

As Bercovitch has demonstrated, in fact, the essence of the jeremiad is celebration rather than censure. Although it strenuously denounces social misdeeds, the jeremiad unerringly ends by predicting America's imminent fulfillment of the original democratic promise. Fuller's lamentations over mid-nineteenth-century America's aggressive materialism in the *Tribune* dispatches are no exceptions. America may have "betrayed" its "high commission" as "advance-guard of Humanity" and "herald of all Progress," but it is destined to resume it. There are still in the United States, writes Fuller after having declared that enslaved Italy reveres the idea of equality better than democratic America, those, although "a small minority," who "earnestly meditate on what is wanted for their country,—for mankind,—for our cause is, indeed, the cause of all mankind. Could we succeed, really succeed, combine a deep religious love with practical development . . . , we might believe Man has now reached a commanding point

in his ascent, and would stumble and faint no more." And again, the spirit of democracy may be more alive in Italy than in America, but "it will not be so long." America "is not dead"—she simply "sleepeth," and it is Fuller's intent to wake her.[15] Thus, Fuller's jeremiads, which open on the pejorative comparison between reborn Italy and fallen America, close on an optimistic vision of America regenerated by the confrontation with its political sins. The *Tribune* dispatches differ only in form from other strongly nationalistic American narratives of the Risorgimento. Whereas other commentators exalted American democracy directly through the negative portrayal of Italian republicanism, Fuller exalted it indirectly through a positive assessment of foreign revolutions. The path may have been oblique, but the destination was the same.

Fuller's critique of America, moreover, lies wholly within the pale of nationalistic ideology. In the *Tribune* dispatches America is found guilty of having abdicated its role of universal political model and active advocate of democracy worldwide, that is, of failing to live up to exalted images of national identity. Fuller wishes she could encourage the Italian revolutionists by telling them about her country, but she must instead "stammer and blush" and remain silent about "many things"—from political corruption to discrimination against women and human bondage. She repeatedly asks for an "expression of sympathy" from her country toward the Italians, for a cannon "to be called AMERICA" that the newly established Roman Civic Guard could use "for salutes on festive occasions, if they should be so happy as to have no more serious need." She pleads that the American diplomatic representative to the Papal States, Lewis Cass Jr., be empowered to give official recognition to the republic of the people, since that government "stands on the same basis as ourselves." Unable to have any of her demands fulfilled, she warns her country to beware lest it may "perish, like the old dominions, from the leprosy of selfishness." Underlying these alternating appeals and accusations is the assumption that America has been ordained to be, as Fuller would put it in one of her last reports from Italy, "the star of hope to the enslaved nations" and that "bitter indeed were the night if that star were hid from sight by foul vapors."[16] For all her critique of America's political declension, Fuller thus upholds the notion that the United States is the epicenter of republicanism, that democratic experiments abroad are inspired by the American model, and that such experiments require the support of the United States to survive.

Nationalism in the Private Sphere

The interpretation of Fuller's negative comparison between America and Italy along nationalistic lines is confirmed by an examination of the description of Italian republicanism in texts other than the dispatches. Although critics have privileged the history of the Roman republic she wrote for the *Tribune,* Fuller also recounted the events of 1848–49 in her correspondence and a brief journal that was rescued from the shipwreck that killed her and her family off the American Atlantic coast.[17] These alternative versions of the revolutions of midcentury differ considerably in the evaluation of Italian liberalism, which is praised in the dispatches but criticized—at times harshly—in the more private texts, a fact that can be ascribed to Fuller's differing rhetorical purposes in the public dispatches and the private letters and journal. Fuller's private account of the Roman republic resembles instead the vast majority of American narratives of the Italian revolutions, with which it shares the contention that Italy's democratic experiments were bound to fail, at least for the time being, because of the Italians' civic deficiencies. Despite their seemingly antithetical nature, however, Fuller's private and public histories are fundamentally alike in that they both, in different ways, embrace a nationalistic mythology.

Fuller's references to the revolutionary army led by General Giuseppe Garibaldi in her writing for the *Tribune* and in her correspondence offer a dramatic illustration of the distance separating her public narrative of Italian republicanism from her private one. In the articles for Greeley, Fuller extolled the volunteers who defended Rome against the French siege. She found them "noble men," "true priests of a higher hope," who "had weighed life and all its material advantages against Liberty, and made their election, . . . turned not back, nor flinched at this bitter crisis." In fact, she defended them against the accusations of those Americans who thought them mercenaries of the worst kind. "Gentlemen who perform their 'duties to society' by buying for themselves handsome clothes and furniture with the interest of their money," she writes, "speak of Garibaldi and his men as 'brigands' and 'vagabonds.' " "Such they are, doubtless," she continues in seeming agreement, only to proceed on to radical denial, "in the same sense as Jesus, Aeneas and Moses were." While such men controlled Rome, she insisted against allegation that the city had fallen into anarchy, she felt

so secure as to walk outdoors unaccompanied, and, she added, "I never saw an act of violence."[18]

In her letters, however, her comments on Garibaldi and his soldiers are strongly negative. Writing to her friend Caroline Sturgis Tappan from Rieti, where she had retired to hide her pregnancy from the American community in Rome, Fuller expressed her apprehension at the presence of volunteer troops around her in terms analogous to those whose accuracy she questioned in the dispatches. Garibaldi's followers are now "desperadoes" who, she suggests, would not refrain from rape. "In case of conflict," she confides to Tappan, "I should fear for the nurse of Angelino, the loveliest young woman there."[19] They metamorphose, as she writes to her lover Giovanni Angelo Ossoli, into dangerous men suspected of having murdered "a friar [and] two citizens," so threatening, she confesses in a complete reversal of her assertions in the *Tribune,* that "I surely do not have courage to go out alone."[20] The vision of a heroic revolution painted in the dispatches is thus tainted by anarchic overtones in the letters, where the pursuit of liberty degenerates into gratuitous explosions of violence against not only the representatives of the old clerical government but also the very people in whose name the revolution has been fought. The implications in terms of Fuller's evaluation of the Italians' civic virtue are, of course, utterly negative: their republican efforts, she suggests, lead to the destruction rather than the reconfiguration of the social structure.

Fuller's public and private histories of the Roman republic further diverge in her assessment of the military prowess of the volunteer army. Although in the dispatches Fuller was adamant in proclaiming the Italians' courage against other foreign observers who disparagingly declared that "this people would not fight," privately she expressed doubts about whether the Romans would be willing and able to resist the French.[21] About a month after her first defense of the Romans' valor in the *Tribune,* on 28 April 1849, Fuller asked herself in the pages of her journal, "Will the Romans fight? Outwardly they express great order. The chamber of deputies has warmly and unanimously voted to resist. At the review of the civic guard yesterday they gave great promise, yet somewhere I doubt them all. From my window I see now where they are bringing boards. I suppose to make a support for cannon and it seems to be such play for men and boys alike."[22] The people whose "nobler spirit" she had celebrated in her jeremiads become here the Italians of much American commentary on

the Risorgimento: ineffectual revolutionists ready with words but not with deeds, unconscious of the import of their actions, more like boys playing at war than men fighting it. Given antebellum America's martial conception of republican citizenship, Fuller's private characterization of the Romans as braggarts signals once more her skepticism concerning the Italians' capacity for self-government. As the syntactic proximity of grown "men" and immature "boys" suggests, in expressing uncertainty on whether the Romans would move from words to actions to defend their republic, Fuller was implying that they were not quite ready for it yet.

Indeed, the conviction that the Italians were unequal to the responsibilities of democracy pervades the private history of the Roman republic throughout. In a letter to Costanza Arconati Visconti in which she defended republicanism against her moderate friend's preference for constitutional monarchy, Fuller acknowledged that "Italy may not be ready for it yet."[23] Her statements to the leader of the democratic party, Giuseppe Mazzini, who had returned to Italy from his exile in London during Rome's brief republican interlude, also reveal her doubts about the Italians' fitness for participatory democracy. In reply to his melancholy assertion that he had come back to die in his country after not being able to live in it, she wrote reassuringly, "You do not return to sleep under the sod of Italy, but to see your thought springing up all over her soil." Still she admitted, extending the natural metaphor, that "the gardeners seem to me, in point of instinctive wisdom or deep thought, mostly incompetent to the care of the garden."[24] Fuller's negative evaluation of the Italians' political capacity, however, is invariably accompanied by the assurance that democracy would eventually prevail. In her letter to Visconti she also wrote, "I am no bigoted Republican, yet I think that form of government will eventually pervade the civilized world." Italy, she was certain, "would not find peace earlier."[25] She similarly counteracted her critique of the Italian patriots in her letter to Mazzini, where she added that his republican ideal "will be able to use any implements, it is to be hoped will educate the men, by making them work."[26] It is precisely this combination of refutation (Italians are unfit for republicanism) and assertion (Italy will—one day—be republican) that reveals Fuller's adherence to nationalist ideology. Such combination, as we have seen, resolves the inevitable tension between the vision of the United States as redeemer nation, destined to democratize the world by example and thereby transform other countries in its image, and the equally

appealing notion of the United States as exceptional, forever different from and superior to other nations. By portraying Italians as unsuccessful revolutionists, Fuller was contributing to the fabrication of an exalted image of America as the only extant realization of democratic ideals. By asserting that Italy would eventually be democratic, too, she was advancing the myth of America's political evangelism. Ultimately, the America of Fuller's private chronicle of Roman republicanism is both emulated and unequaled, very much the same America one finds in those allegedly different, "other" accounts of the Risorgimento we have already examined.

Fuller, who had celebrated Italy over America in her public history of the Roman republic, adopted in her private history many of the conventions of American self-serving discourse on the political situation of mid-nineteenth-century Italy. While both histories are characterized by nationalistic ideology, the private account is no doubt more blatant in its proclamation of America's democratic superiority. This difference between the dispatches and the letters and journal can be accounted for in terms of their different rhetorical situations. As Cristina Zwarg and P. Joy Rouse have demonstrated, Fuller was well aware that the newspaper, as a mass medium, had an extraordinary capability to affect people's opinions and that her job as a columnist for Greeley's *Tribune* offered her an unprecedented occasion to address a wide readership about the state of American democracy.[27] Fuller the social critic, in other words, found in the newspaper a powerful instrument for her plan to chastise America. Given this intent, it is no wonder that the public history of the Roman republic should elevate Italy over America. Fuller wanted to alert her country to its political declension and shame it into regeneration, not to indulge an already inflated sense of national superiority that risked making it blind to its own backsliding. Since America defined itself as the republican model for all other countries, the celebration of Italian over American liberalism in the dispatches served as illustration of a national corruption from which it was imperative to recover. The detrimental portrayal of the Italian revolutionists that characterizes Fuller's letters and journal derives from the fact that these private accounts of the Roman republic did not have the civic, reformatory intent of their public counterpart. In different ways, however, both the public and the private history partook of nationalist ideology: the former by inviting America to regain its position of republican paragon, and the latter by implying that America's preeminence was never challenged by the Italians' performance in the first place.

Aestheticizing the Revolution

Despite its accuracy, the dichotomy I have previously delineated between a sympathetic public history of the Roman republic and a more critical private one would be reductive and oversimplifying without the additional exploration of how Fuller's public dispatches are themselves a conflicted, contradictory text, often characterized by less-than-celebratory approaches to Italian liberalism. Specifically, the *Tribune* articles repeatedly present the Italian revolutions not as historical events fraught with political significance but as spectacles enacted for the entertainment of the American observer and her transatlantic readers. This aestheticization of Italian republicanism is often accompanied by a seemingly antithetical lament over Italy's loss of aesthetic value in the process of political modernization. Whether the revolution in Rome is seen as a charming pageant or, on the contrary, as a threat to the touristic pleasures offered by papal Rome, however, both views imply Fuller's failure to put Italian republicanism on a par with American democracy.[28]

Upon her arrival in Rome in the spring of 1847, Fuller wrote to her socialist friend William Henry Channing that "art is not important to me now." Instead, she continued, "I take interest in the state of the people, their manners, the state of the race in them. I see the future dawning; it is in important aspects Fourier's future."[29] It was an unconventional declaration, since in the American imagination Italy had traditionally embodied artistic rather than political achievements and represented temporal stagnation rather than historical evolution.[30] Fuller did write about Italy's revolutions instead of its monuments at a time when other major New England intellectuals like Emerson and Hawthorne largely ignored them. Still, her representation of the people in the act of making history often reduces them once more to apolitical objects of aesthetic consumption. For instance, recounting the festivities that took place in Rome to celebrate the inauguration of a lay council that would collaborate with the pope in the administration of the state, Fuller observed that the "beautiful show of the evening was the Trasteverini dancing the Saltarello in their most brilliant costume. I saw them thus to much greater advantage than ever before; several were nobly handsome, and danced admirably." The recurrence in this passage of nouns and adjectives indicating visual appreciation suggests that the people's enthusiasm at the prospect of a more enlightened government, that is, a political statement, has only aesthetic value in the eyes of the

American observer. Fuller's final comment that "it was really like Pinelli," a reference to a well-known Italian engraver of the beginning of the century, confirms this interpretation.[31] While the Trasteverini use dance as a form of political action, Fuller reads it solely in artistic terms and, significantly, equates it with a dead artist's pastoral scenes. The Romans' political present *in-fieri* becomes in Fuller's narrative a timeless and apolitical Arcadia.

Similar aestheticizing renditions of the revolutions occur frequently in the dispatches. Fuller writes of a torch-bearing procession in honor of the pope's reform that "a stream of fire advanced slowly with a perpetual surge-like sound of voices" while "the torches flashed on the animated Italian faces," and remarks that she "ha[d] never seen anything finer." She conveys the enthusiasm of the people of Florence at the liberal measures they had obtained from their sovereign by depicting "laborers of the lower class, marching home at night; keeping step as if they were the National Guard, filling the air and cheering the melancholy moon, by the patriotic hymns sung, with the mellow tone and the perfect time which belong to the Italians." As with the Romans, Fuller comments that "all was done in that beautiful poetic manner peculiar to this artist people." To cite one final example, when she watches the assembling of the Civic Guard from the Pincian Hill, which she had climbed "to see better," Fuller observes that the Romans could not have chosen anywhere better for the ceremony. In her words, "There is no place so fine for anything of this kind as Piazza del Popolo; it is so full of light, so fair and grand, the obelisk and fountain make so fine a center for all kind of groups."[32] The unifying factor among these passages about different episodes of the Italian popular insurrections of midcentury is their similar reduction of foreign liberalism into visual entertainment for the American spectator. In Fuller's account of the events, Italians are engaged not in the reorganization of the body politic but in the making of themselves into art for the eyes of the *Tribune*'s foreign correspondent and her New York readers. Fuller may have been trying, as one critic has observed, to reinsert Italy into the realm of historical becoming, but her renditions of historical occurrences into picturesque tableaux vivants fail to do so.[33]

The Roman revolution, however, is not consistently viewed as aesthetically pleasing. On the contrary, Fuller oftentimes describes democracy as a threat to the cultural alterity that made Italy appealing to the American tourist. Reporting on the Roman carnival in December 1847, in the after-

math of the creation of the Civic Guard, for instance, Fuller observed that Rome lay in a liminal position between the absolutism of the past and the republicanism to be realized in the future. While she hailed the progressive changes introduced in the papal administration, she also hoped that "when the many uses and reasons of the new prevail, . . . what is poetical in the old will not be lost." Returning to the same topic a year later, once Rome had declared itself a republic, she remarked that indeed freedom and equality had negatively affected this celebrated attraction of the Rome of the popes. "The Republican Carnival," she acknowledged, "has not been as splendid as the Papal; the absence of Dukes and Princes being felt in the way of coaches and rich dresses."[34] It is precisely this sense that progress may endanger Italy's aesthetic value that Fuller conveys in a letter urging Emelyn Story to return to Rome from Florence, where she had repaired with her family at the onset of the hostilities between the pope and his people. "My fear," she wrote to her friend, "is that Rome cannot hold together in her present form against innovation and that we are enjoying the last hour of her old solemn greatness. Will you not return then to see her once more!"[35]

In addition to threatening to eliminate old customs prized by the American travelers, the revolution, Fuller often suggests, was imperiling Rome's physical survival itself. In her final dispatches, which report on the siege, she repeatedly lamented the destruction of ancient monuments caused by the war. "We all feel very sad," she told her readers in early May 1849, "because the idea of bombs thrown in, and street-fight in Rome is peculiarly dreadful. Apart from all the blood and anguish inevitable at such times, the glories of Art may perish, and mankind be forever despoiled of the most beautiful inheritance." By the end of the month she was able to describe the effects of the war on the city, whose trees all had to be felled to build barricades and prevent the enemy from finding concealment among them. "Rome," she wrote, "is shorn of the locks which lent grace to her venerable brow. She looks desolated, profaned."[36] This insistence on the havoc brought by the war returns in a letter to Emerson dated 10 June 1849. Acknowledging she lacked the moral strength of men like Mazzini, who would sacrifice everything to their principles, Fuller lamented once more that "Rome is being destroyed: her glorious oaks; her villas, haunts of sacred beauty, that seemed the possession of the world forever,—the villa of Raphael, the villa of Albani, home of Winkelmann, and the best expression of the ideal of modern Rome, and so many other sanctuaries

of beauty,—all must perish, lest a foe should level his musket from their shelter. *I* could not, could not!"[37] The passages above all belie Fuller's repeated assertion in the dispatches about the identity of the Italian and the American revolutions. Rather, they imply the opposite notion that Italian democracy may be of a lesser kind, not worth the struggle necessary to achieve it. In fact, they leave the contemporary reader with a nagging suspicion that Fuller half wished the revolution had never taken place, and Italy could be preserved as it best suited the American observer in search of curiosities—with all its picturesque customs and its monuments intact.

Fuller's ambivalence toward the modernizing effects of the revolution is the most forceful indication of her inability to distance herself from nationalistic ideology. When she expressed her apprehension that the success of the Risorgimento might lead to Italy's loss of aesthetic appeal, Fuller was repeating verbatim the arguments deployed against women's demand that they, too, be active members of the body politic, namely, that women who stepped into the public sphere ceased to be true women and were thereby disqualified for marriages with middle-class American men. Fuller's occasional objection to the rise of popular democracy in Italy because it might compromise its aesthetic value is thus a replica of the patriarchal justifications for the exclusion of women from politics that she had adamantly attacked in *Woman in the Nineteenth Century.* That Fuller the feminist should adopt the nationalistic vision of Italy as extraneous to historical progress despite its coincidence with the misogynist conception of women as naturally apolitical testifies to the exceptionally strong hold that nationalistic ideology had on her.

This contention is further reinforced by the fact that Fuller was aware that the rhetoric of domination was flexible and could be put to multiple uses. In *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* she had argued that the subjection of women and the enslavement of blacks were similarly founded on the negative evaluation of the intellectual capability of the oppressed, which in turn justified the control exercised over them by the oppressors. In her words, "there exists in the minds of men a tone of feeling toward women as toward slaves . . . that the infinite soul can only work through them in already ascertained limits; that the gift of reason, Man's highest prerogative, is allotted to them in much lower degree, that they must be kept from mischief and melancholy by being constantly engaged in active labor, which is to be furnished and directed by those better able to think,

&c., &c."[38] In the *Tribune* dispatches, Fuller similarly observed that Americans abroad expressed their reservations toward the Italians' struggle for national independence using the same arguments employed in the United States to object to any proposal for the emancipation of blacks. "Americans in Italy," she wrote, "talk about the corrupt and degenerate state of Italy as they do about that of our slaves at home." Some, for instance, thought the Austrians wise and generous sovereigns who took good care of the physical needs of their subjects. "The Lombard peasant supping full of his polenta," they declared, "is *happy enough*" and, like the allegedly contended southern slave, had no justification to rebel against the authority of the master.[39]

While she had observed that the discourses of power are polyvalent, Fuller never explicitly drew the connection between nationalistic and patriarchal ideology, that is, between the discourse that declared Italians unfit for democracy and that which relegated women to the domestic sphere. Still, such a connection is obvious to the reader of her feminist and Italian writings, who finds her objecting to the same arguments whether she is defending a woman's right to live beyond the home or the Italians' right to independence from colonial powers. For instance, the passage just quoted as an example of how some Americans censured the Italian revolutions is also mentioned in *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* to illustrate misogynist thought. In her feminist treatise Fuller has a slave dealer complain that the abolitionists, who have already endangered the union and the prosperity of the nation, are now trying to lure his wife "away from the cradle and the kitchen-hearth to vote at polls, and preach from a pulpit." Like the Americans opposed to the Italians' insurrections against Austria, he too thinks his partner is "happy enough as she is," especially since, not unlike the Austrian empire, he is a generous despot. "She has more leisure than I have," he explains, "every means of improvement, every indulgence."[40] That Fuller should conflate the patriarch with the slaveholder is, of course, indicative of her insight that racism and sexism employ the same rhetorical tools. And although she never voiced it, the contention that these same tools also serve nationalistic ideology is undoubtedly latent in her writing.

In Italy, Margaret Fuller was thus on the verge of recognizing that the rhetoric of male superiority and American exceptionalism were one and the same. Yet, she never quite articulated that connection. That she could not do so and would instead proceed to express her concern that a free Italy might lose its charm testifies to the level to which she had internalized

American nationalist ideology. Indeed, contrary to the current critical consensus on her Italian writings, Fuller's account of the Roman revolutions upholds the myth of America's political superiority throughout. The public dispatches do so in spite of appearances, since the jeremiad reaffirms nationalistic mythology even as it laments the nation's backsliding. The private letters and the journal do so openly, through the explicit censure of Italian revolutionists. And, finally, even the seemingly sympathetic narrative of the dispatches is interrupted by a touristic approach to the Risorgimento that trivializes it and belies the limits of Fuller's identification with Italian republicanism.

I hope you like to hear about Italy, because nothing can ever be more interesting than the liberation of Romagna except the liberation of our slaves.
—Annie Adams Fields to her family
(Florence, 4 April 1860)

4 Republican Debates I

The Color of the Republic

When diplomat Charles Edward Lester concluded his pessimistic assessment of the European revolutions of 1848 with the declaration that he "had little faith . . . in the capacity of any great people in the world, either to establish or to maintain republican institutions, except the people of the United States," he was defining America in terms of the civic virtue of its citizens. What distinguished it from all other national communities—its national identity—was a form of government deemed inaccessible to others. Lester added that he did not have "much confidence in the capacity of any *race* of men, to found and perpetuate even free Constitutional

Governments, except the Anglo-Saxon."[1] The statement functions as an alternative way of producing nationhood by separating the United States from continental Europe on the basis of racial identity. Most importantly, though, the reference to a racial category introduces another level of differentiation essential to the articulation of nationhood, this time within the nation. As previously argued, the invention of the nation requires not only separation from other groups situated outside the national body, but also the production of internal homogeneity, that is, the expulsion of elements configured as antithetical to the ethnic and cultural identity of the state. Lester's words perform both functions: they separate republican America from other nonrepublican countries without, but they also separate within the nation, to use Etienne Balibar's terminology, between "true" nationals, those constructed as Anglo-Saxons, and "false" ones, those who were not.[2]

While previous chapters have examined the function of the discussion of Italy's political prospects for the articulation of America's national identity in opposition to other nations, the two chapters that follow focus on the uses of the discourse on international subjects to voice the domestic controversy over the identity of America's true nationals. Specifically, the American discourse on the political capability of mid-nineteenth-century Italians functioned as an oblique, oftentimes coded argument for or against the republican fitness of nondominant groups within the U.S. national boundaries, namely, enslaved blacks and the newly arrived Catholic immigrants from Ireland.

An acute, though ultimately limited, analyst of the polyvalent nature of discourses of domination, Margaret Fuller observed that Americans used the same arguments against the political emancipation of Italy that they employed against the social emancipation of blacks in the United States. "Americans in Italy," she wrote, "talk about the corrupt and degenerate state of Italy, as they do about that of our slaves at home." "They come ready trained," she explained, "to that mode of reasoning which affirms that, because men are degraded by bad institutions, they are not fit for better."[3] This chapter builds on Fuller's comment and argues that the discourse on revolutionary Italy became the site of a reenactment on foreign grounds of the domestic controversy over whether African Americans could be admitted into the national body politic or should instead be excluded from it. I start by examining the identity, noticed by Fuller, of the rhetorical

patterns of the debates about the political prospects of Italy and the future of slavery in America. I contend that the primary, if often unnamed, subject of many narratives of the Risorgimento was, in fact, chattel bondage, as becomes evident when the commentary over the condition of foreign subjects is interrupted by analogies with the circumstances of the domestic slaves. I proceed to discuss the abolitionists' explicit comparison between the Italians' subjection to Austria and the American slaves' bondage, which in turn spurred a wave of responses on the part of proslavery advocates. I conclude this section with an analysis of the abolitionists' capitalization on the liberalization of Italy in a form of mid-nineteenth-century jeremiad reproaching the American republic, dishonored by slavery, for having lost its role of global political model and having been surpassed in devotion to freedom by the new Italian nation.

For the sake of clarity, the discussion moves from coded to overt treatment of slavery through the medium of narratives on foreign struggles for freedom. While I have imposed an arbitrary order on the discursive body examined, the analysis aims to be sensitive to the diversity of the texts, reflective of the multiplicity of their producers and their different understanding of the nature of racial difference. In fact, there are clear distinctions not only in the arguments of proslavery and antislavery advocates respectively, but also among those produced within each side. Some proslavery advocates, for instance, compared Italians and American slaves in that both were well cared for by their masters and had no reason to rebel against them; others contrasted them and argued that the African under the system of southern slavery was much better off than the Italian under foreign despotism, who alone had a right to revolt. Still others maintained that both the inhabitants of the Italian peninsula and the African slaves were nonwhites and therefore were biologically unqualified for self-government. A minority objected that Italians, unlike the American slaves, were white and hence naturally entitled to freedom. In spite of these differences, at times indicative of social rifts internal to the slaveholders' society itself as well as the complexity of racial thought at midcentury, all strengthened their defense of American slavery through the comparative analysis of blacks' and Italians' aptitude for and right to freedom.

Abolitionists also produced a mass of contradictory texts juxtaposing political slavery in Italy and chattel slavery in America. White opponents of slavery often tried to capitalize on American sympathy for foreign liberal

movements by stressing that the American slave was just as oppressed as the Italian patriot and therefore also deserving of support; black abolitionists more typically indicted a nation that would espouse the cause of a people tyrannized by foreigners abroad but ignore the much more severe plight of the domestic slaves. Moreover, while whites tended to compare Italians and blacks in that both were victims of oppression, blacks preferred to locate the similarity in that both were rebels against oppression. Once more, regardless of important distinctions in the representation of foreign patriotism on the part of white and black abolitionists, reflective of opposite conceptions of the future of blacks in the United States, all employed their chronicles of Italian events to attack American slavery.

To summarize, whether the author supported or objected to Italy's struggle for freedom, whether slavery was mentioned or not, whether Italians were compared or contrasted with blacks, and whatever the modalities of the comparison, the one unifying element of this body of discordant, dialoguing texts is that their primary concern is always slavery in the American republic and that the narrative of foreign struggles for freedom functions as the medium through which to reiterate and contribute to the domestic debate over its abolition. Taken as a whole, these accounts of revolutions abroad amount to a multivoiced conversation about the ethnic composition of the nation whose participants each propose a different image of the domestic body politic—from all white to color-blind.

Coded Controversies

As Fuller observed, there is a striking similarity between the discursive body employed to censure the Italian revolutions and the arguments of proslavery advocates.[4] A case in point is a scathing critique of novelist Catharine Sedgwick's *Letters from Abroad to Kindred at Home* (1841) by the *Southern Quarterly Review.* Sedgwick was a member of the New England intellectual elite that welcomed the Italian political exiles who had fled to the United States in the 1830s. She had met Federico Confalonieri, Gaetano Castillia, Giovanni Albinola, and Felice Foresti and had contributed to the 1836 American translation of Silvio Pellico's *Le mie prigioni,* the best-selling memoirs of an Italian political dissident who had survived a decade of incarceration in the Austrian fortress of Spielberg.[5]

In the account of her Italian travels, Sedgwick condemned the Austrian dominion of northern Italy and exalted instead the Italians' patriotism. The anonymous writer of the 1842 essay in the *Southern Quarterly Review* disagreed with Sedgwick's negative evaluation of Austria's rule in Italy. Far from being oppressive, the author contended, the Austrian government, as Sedgwick's own description of well-tilled fields and healthy peasants attested, had brought prosperity to the country. Thanks to laws prohibiting men from carrying weapons, the land, once infested by the "Italian banditti," was now secure and peaceful. Moreover, the intercourse with the Austrians had improved the moral life of the Italians, who, according to the essay, had once been "an immoral people, the slaves of ill-regulated and debasing passions," but were now "rising to be a highly intelligent and moral people."[6] Unmistakably, this southern version of the effect of Austrian domination over Italy echoes the paternalist defense of slavery as an ennobling, benevolent institution whose positive material effects over its subjects justified depriving them of freedom.

As the essay proceeds, so does the use of proslavery arguments: Italy's subjection to Austria had undermined the country's otherwise rigid class system, since the common enslavement to foreign rule lessened the nobles' sense of superiority and power over the working class. According to the *Southern Quarterly Review,* only the nobles, deprived of their power, were galled by the Austrian supremacy. The peasants knew that without Austria they would be tyrannized by the local aristocracy, which explained why they had never contributed to the revolutionary efforts of the upper classes—an allegation soon to be contradicted by the popular uprisings of 1848 in Milan and Venice. Beyond the issue of the accuracy of the analysis offered by the *Southern Quarterly Review,* however, what is relevant is, once again, the close similarity between this evaluation of the results of foreign rule on Italy and proslavery arguments. Indeed, the notion that Austrian tyranny could foster Italian democracy seems an application to a different society of the contention that black slavery was not incompatible with American republicanism, as abolitionists argued, but that, on the contrary, it promoted a sense of equality among whites regardless of their social status. Finally, the conclusion of the essay, a vision of the state of anarchy in which Lombardy would fall if it rebelled against Austria—"The now fertile and beautiful plains of Lombardy would be deluged with blood. . . . The peasants, driven from their peaceful occupations, would again turn bandits. . . . Distress

and gaunt famine would everywhere rear their hideous forms"—bears a remarkable resemblance to the catalog of the evils expected to follow emancipation that unerringly appears in all proslavery tracts.[7] Not coincidentally, the *Southern Quarterly Review,* one of the most important periodicals of the antebellum South, was itself the outlet of proslavery propaganda.

Sympathizers of the Italian cause generally attempted to dispel such nightmares of social disarray by conceding that the Italians may indeed have been subjected to despotic governments for so long as to need reeducation in the exercise of freedom, but they still maintained that fears of potential disorder did not justify the perpetuation of oppressive governments. Among others, Horace Greeley, founder of the liberal *New-York Daily Tribune,* argued in his 1851 travel book *Glances at Europe* that although the Italians "might somewhat abuse Freedom . . . , for the blessed sunshine is painful and perilous to eyes long used to the gloom of the dungeon, . . . the experience of Freedom must tend to dispel the ignorance and correct the errors of its votaries, while Slavery only leads from bad to worse."[8] In an 1854 article for the *North American Review,* transcendentalist reformer Elizabeth Palmer Peabody went further than Greeley and declared that if violence was an inevitable component of Italy's transition from colony to independent state, it should nonetheless be preferred to the order ensured by despotism. In her words, "the whole influence of Austria is to crush every manly and independent thought. . . . Independence, suddenly gained, would no doubt be followed by many disturbances, but disorder and violence are not always the worst thing in the world. The quiet which has its origin in enslaved hearts is worse."[9] As in the case of the texts authored by opponents of the Italian cause, here again there is a clear parallel between the line of reasoning used to defend the Italian liberals against their detractors and antislavery arguments, namely, that the perpetuation of the institution of slavery could not be proposed as a solution to the problem of the civic degeneration of those enslaved because it was already the cause of the problem. And, once again, those who sympathized with the Italians' struggle for independence also advocated freedom for the American slaves. Greeley, a supporter of the Free Soil movement to prevent the extension of slavery in the western territories in the 1850s, converted at the coming of the Civil War to an uncompromising abolitionist position, criticized President Abraham Lincoln for postponing emancipation until 1863, and campaigned for full black political equality during Reconstruction. Similarly,

Peabody, though not herself a militant abolitionist, had published Henry Thoreau's 1849 antislavery essay "Resistance to Civil Government" in her periodical *Aesthetic Papers.*

Negative assessments of the Italians' democratic ambitions were based both on the notion that the civic virtue of a people was a historical variable affected by the institutions through which a population had been governed, and on a different conception of political capability as a racial attribute possessed by certain peoples only. For some American commentators on Italy's political situation, it was not centuries of foreign domination that made it unlikely that the Italians would ever enjoy constitutional freedom, but the fact that they were not Anglo-Saxons. For example, in their *Types of Mankind* (1854), a monumental compilation of allegedly scientific evidence of the existence of inherent racial differences, southern physician Josiah C. Nott and British-born Egyptologist George R. Gliddon argued that among the people of Europe one could distinguish between "blond" or Germanic races and "brown" or southern European races. According to them, different degrees of political virtue were among the innate racial characteristics of the two groups. While the "fair-skinned type" had been able to live peacefully under democratic institutions, the "dark-skinned races" were "only fit for military governments, . . . the unique rule genial to their physical nature." According to the authors, Italy's subjection to Austria and the collapse of the revolutionary republican governments of midcentury was due to the racial background of the inhabitants of the Italian peninsula, namely that "the darker races [were] in a majority."[10]

In the early 1860s, after the annexation of most of the peninsula to Piedmont and the reorganization of the territories under the constitutional monarchy of the Kingdom of Italy, the narrative of Italians as biologically unfit for freedom was revised to maintain that the political and military leaders of the project of national unification had a different racial makeup than the rest of the population. Giuseppe Garibaldi, the Nice-born leader of the expedition to conquer southern Italy, was described in the *North American Review* as Anglo-Saxon in countenance and appearance: "Without the superficial vivacity and the exaggerated manner so common to the Italian temperament," wrote travel writer and essayist Henry T. Tuckerman, who had met the Italian patriot in New York in 1851, during his brief exile in the United States, "there yet was revealed a latent force and feeling all the more impressive from the contrast it afforded to the voluble and dramatic

utterance of his countrymen. His calm manner, comparatively slow movement, and almost Saxon hair and beard, might have seemed characteristic of a northern rather than southern European."[11] Camillo Benso di Cavour, prime minister of the Kingdom of Sardinia during the process of national unification, was also anglicized in the pages of the *North American Review.* An 1863 article devoted to him stressed that he had been born of a Swiss mother and educated in England and that it was to these northern elements that his political sagacity had to be attributed. In the words of the essayist, "The essential want of Italy was a calm, great master-mind. Her sons, even the greatest of them, . . . wanted the iron will, the dauntless spirit, the discerning forethought, the steady intellect, of more northern climes; first to overturn existing despotism, then to erect a substantial and healthy fabric." Cavour, in whom "the blood of Piedmont . . . , which stimulated passion, was tempered by the blood of Switzerland, which balanced judgment against impetuosity, and deliberation against fire of spirit," fulfilled that need.[12] Whether the failure of the revolutions of the first half of the century was ascribed to the darkness of the Italians' complexion, or the success of the project of nation formation and liberalization of the 1860s to the Anglo-Saxon racial makeup of their leaders, the core of these narratives is that democratic institutions were the birthright of Anglo-Saxons only. And, once more, that same argument was also employed in the United States to legitimize various forms of racial oppression and discrimination, including southern slavery and colonization projects to remove blacks from the American republic entertained by northerners and southerners alike even as the Civil War was being fought.

That American commentators on the prospects of Italy were in fact expressing domestic concerns about the nature of democracy in the United States—whether it should be the exclusive privilege of whites or extended to other racial groups—seems to be confirmed by the fact that their discourse on Italy is oftentimes interspersed with references to America. When describing the poor of Naples, for instance, and arguing that although they do not seem to mind their destitution, their cheerfulness itself testifies to the oppressiveness of a government that has debased its subjects into not knowing that they are entitled to more, Catharine Sedgwick suddenly introduces a parenthetical remark to refer to the American slave. "While we tourists give volumes to ruins and pictures," she writes, "the Lazzaroni are slurred over with a line or a sneer. We forget the wrongs which have brought

them to their present abjectedness and keep them in it, and quiet our sympathies by reiterating that 'the Lazzaroni are the most cheerful people in the world!' And so they are (except, perhaps, our slaves!) . . . if happiness be indicated by a careless brow and merry shouts; but . . . is not the cheerfulness of these people the most hopeless thing about them, proving, as it does, an unconsciousness that marks the lowest point of human degradation?"[13] As in the previous examples, Sedgwick was employing the domestic rhetoric of antislavery propaganda, in this case the abolitionist contention that the happy slave fabricated by the southern imagination was at most a debased one, to condemn an instance of foreign tyranny. Although Sedgwick's words, which ignore the possibility that enslaved blacks may have chosen to wear the mask of the contented servant as a survival strategy, are themselves tainted with racial prejudice, the reference to "our slaves" reveals that the commentary on the Italians' political oppression serves the function of an oblique lamentation over the tragedy of chattel slavery in America, the latter being amplified and reinforced by repetition overseas.

The interpolation of allusions to slavery within the context of narratives that would seem to be about Italy characterizes the writing of apologists of slavery as well. A case in point is a long anonymous essay in the *Southern Quarterly Review* devoted to Charles Eliot Norton's critique of European republicanism, *Considerations on Some Recent Social Theories* (1853). Norton, who at the time had just graduated from Harvard but who would later become a renowned art and literary critic, denounced democratic leader Giuseppe Mazzini's conception of "the people" as the only righteous source of power and attacked his claim that republicanism constituted an ideal form of government to which all nations were entitled. According to him, on the contrary, different forms of government should not be evaluated in a vacuum, but in their appropriateness to the level of education and material independence of those governed. He concluded, in a passage quoted by the reviewer, that "an absolute monarchy, with pity, is better for a people, than a republic, without it." While Norton was a wealthy New Englander who opposed slavery as well as socialism, his defense of social stratification in Italy could be employed to support white supremacy in the South. Indeed, the *Southern Quarterly Review* praised his views and ironically recommended his book "to the great panacea-mongers of the day, who would legislate all evil away with a flourish of sentiment. . . . Will abolitionists and fanatics not hearken to the wisdom that is of their own latitude and longitude?"[14]

Thus, an essay that had started with a review of the Italian revolutions of 1848 shifts topic and proceeds to defend slavery as that "monarchy with pity" that Norton had advocated for the Italians and other European populations too degenerate for republicanism. In fact, the piece closes with advice to slave owners to be temperate in the punishment of insubordinate slaves, respectful of their family bonds, and careful about the quality of their food and the sanitary conditions of their living quarters—in sum, to be the benign sovereigns of a race allegedly unfit for self-government.

Border Crossing

Abolitionists often went further than merely juxtaposing European political oppression and American slavery and openly equated the conditions of the persecuted Italian patriots with those of the domestic bondsmen. Such a comparison was no doubt intended to capitalize on American sympathy for the European liberal revolutions to advance the domestic abolitionist cause, but it was also dictated by a conception of the antislavery movement as merely one manifestation of the global contest between despotism and freedom. In 1851, for instance, when it became known that the renowned Hungarian patriot Louis Kossuth would take refuge in the American republic, abolitionist leader William Lloyd Garrison sent him in London a copy of Theodore Dwight Weld's antislavery tract *Slavery as It Is* (1839), hoping that Kossuth, once in the United States, would condemn slavery as he had Austrian tyranny and thus induce public opinion to convert to the abolitionists' program of immediate emancipation.[15] If his interest in European liberalism may have been partially dictated by political calculation, however, Garrison did sincerely admire the exiled Italian republican leader Giuseppe Mazzini, who shared his fervent antislavery stance and was a member of the British Negro Emancipation Society. Garrison praised Mazzini by calling him "as pure a patriot as the world has ever seen," strenuously defended the Roman republic against its detractors in the pages of the *Liberator,* and wrote a highly complimentary introduction to the 1872 New York edition of Mazzini's autobiography.[16] Whether the abolitionists were animated by a clear intention of taking advantage of American sympathy for foreign victims of political oppression to muster support for the domestic victims of slavery, or instead by a

more disinterested conception of the fight against slavery and that against despotism as localized expressions of the same vast cause, the fact remains that antislavery literature often features the figure of the Italian political martyr next to the American slave.

A typical example of the correlation created between the predicament of foreign and domestic subjects is the poem "Whit-Sunday in the Church" by women's rights advocate and abolitionist Julia Ward Howe. The poem, part of a collection of lyrics, *Passion Flowers* (1854), was inspired by a stay in Italy in 1850 and 1851. It is an indictment of both Austria's persecution of political dissidents and America's inhumane treatment of slaves. The verses move from one to the other and include images of "patriots pin[ing] in cells, / To felons chained, or faint and gory / Ascend[ing] the scaffold steps," as well as the evocation of "less decorous haunts, / Where backs are scourged and limbs are corded." While the setting of the suffering of the Italian patriot and the American slave differ, their predicament is deliberately constructed as one: the image of the tortured Italian, covered in blood, is paralleled by that of the whipped slave. With a series of images that once more draw attention to the identity of the oppression of Italians and blacks, Howe then suggests that the reader should feel the same indignation—in fact, the same pain—for both, since offenses against humanity, of whatever color or nationality, are offenses against the self. In her words, "My very heart"—and it is the heart of the poet but also an invitation to the reader to join her—"Wakes sullen Spielberg with its sighing; / My very mother, childless, weeps / Above those brave young Lombards dying." And again, in perfect correspondence with the image of the separation of the imprisoned Italian patriots from their families, "My very child . . . is sold in yonder negro babe, / That ne'er shall know its father's feature."[17] Patriot and slave, the poem declares, undergo the same agony. The implicit conclusion is that if one feels for the former, one cannot but feel for the latter as well.

Conscious of the rhetorical power possessed by the equation of the circumstances of the enslaved African American with those of the Italian tyrannized by Austria, proslavery advocates attacked it. Among others, William Gilmore Simms, one of the leading creative writers of the antebellum South, complained in his famous and often republished "The Morals of Slavery" that the term "slavery" was both misunderstood and inappropriately applied to greatly differing situations. In his words, "The Russian boor is called a slave, and the German subject of Austria is called

a slave, the Italian is called a slave, and the negro in the Southern States is called a slave—and yet, how unlike to one another is the condition of all these slaves!" A proponent of a paternalistic, benevolent view of slavery, Simms argued that the enslaved blacks were much better off than the peoples of Europe subjected to absolute rulers. In fact, the latter could not be called "slaves" because slavery was a mode of social organization in which the master protected and provided for the slaves rather than oppressed them. As he put it, "We make no distinctions between those restraints which impose labor upon the body—improving its health, bringing out its symmetry and strength, and fulfilling a destiny, which . . . is the degree of the Universal Parent—and the bondage of the mind, and the denial of its exercise, which are always the aim of tyrannies, and which, as in the case of some of the *unlaboring* people of Europe, must result in the utter enervation, sluggishness, and shame of body and mind alike." Applying his analysis to the Italian peninsula specifically, Simms concluded that "Pity it is, that the lousy and lounging lazzaroni of Italy, cannot be made to labor in the fields, under the whip of a severe task-master! They would be a much freer—certainly a much nobler animal—than we can possibly esteem them now."[18] Whereas abolitionist rhetoric had conflated the figures of the tyrannized Italian and the enslaved black to attack slavery in America, the defenders of slavery separated them to argue not merely that the condition of the Italian was by far the worse one, but that the solution to the country's political troubles was the extension of slavery rather than liberalism. As the use of the disparaging word "animal" to describe the population of southern Italy suggests, the assumption underlying this defense of slavery is that Italians would not qualify for anything else.

Simms was among a group of southern intellectuals who envisioned slavery as a means to control darker races and white laborers alike. Most southerners, however, rejected this aristocratic philosophy of government in favor of an egalitarianism that was both radical and racially exclusive. They advocated absolute equality for all whites and absolute slavery for all blacks. These two different groups had opposite readings of the revolutions in Europe. While the proponents of a seigniorial society led by a white elite tended to see them as anarchic episodes, the democrats extolled the Italians' struggle for independence from Austria as a rightful war to abolish an unnatural condition of white slavery. In 1849, for instance, the *Southern Literary Messenger* hailed the "cry of Emancipation" that had awakened

Italy from "near two thousand years of slavery" in spite of the fact that Austrian administration had brought order and wealth to the Italian provinces of the empire. In the words of the author of the essay, "Not that Austria was a bad master as well as a cruel one; she cared well for her slaves. With good right could she boast that she spent millions for improvements, had built rail-roads, had opened a free port at Venice and had protected the material interests of the Lombardo-Veneto Kingdom with great success." "But," the writer continued, "did not the cannon planted before the Cathedral of Milan and the artillerist with his burning match, speak of the brutal force of military despotism by which the peace and prosperity were alone secured?"[19] Implicit under this proclamation of the Italians' right to fight Austrian imperialism is their racial construction as whites, and therefore as entitled to liberty regardless of the fact that the dominion exercised by Austria over its colonies, at least as described in this particular essay, bore an obvious resemblance to the slaveholders' supposedly paternal treatment of blacks in the South. Even in this case, however, the southern response to the Italians' wars of independence upheld the enslavement of blacks in America. Insurrection against one's masters, whether oppressive or benevolent, was heroic and rightful exclusively when performed by whites.

That the slaveholding South should support the Italians' struggle for freedom was considered by abolitionists a sinful form of hypocrisy. Commenting on the news that a meeting was to be held in New Orleans to express support for the besieged Roman republicans, the *North Star,* the antislavery paper edited by black abolitionist Frederick Douglass in Rochester, New York, declared, in an article that deserves extensive quotation, "Do not these pretended friends of liberty and admirers of Roman intrepidity know that . . . there are about four millions of persons in this country subject to an amount of injury, insult and oppression infinitely more terrible than that which the Romans are endeavoring to shake off? . . . Where is their sympathy for them, and how do they manifest it? Now and then one of this oppressed class escapes from his master—and he a sympathizer with the oppressed, an admirer of the 'glorious stand made by the Romans' in defense of their rights, may be seen hurrying off in pursuit and hallowing on the dogs to chase and seize the fugitive." For the writer of the essay, there was "only one thing in nature to which this expression of American sympathy bears a very striking similarity, . . . that a pack of wolves, howling over the bleeding carcass of a victim, should suddenly pretend to

sympathize very deeply with, and send offers of assistance to another of the same species which was being pursued."[20] Southern supporters of the Italian cause, however, would not have agreed with this analysis of their defense of Italian liberalism as antithetical to their domestic proslavery stance. Whereas the implicit assumption of the writer of the *North Star* was that all races were endowed with the same capabilities and rights, so that the white American, the Italian serf, and the slave brought from Africa were all entitled to liberty, southerners defended their society's partial egalitarianism on the basis of an opposite belief that civic virtue—the ability to exercise one's freedom—was a racial attribute possessed by whites only. Hence, the support for the democratic aspirations of other Caucasians did not clash with the enslavement of blacks.

The passage quoted from the *North Star* adopts to a large extent the modes of the propagandistic exploitation of Italian political events by white abolitionists, namely that Italians and blacks suffered under similar forms of oppression, and that one could not espouse the cause of the former without embracing the cause of the latter as well. Black abolitionists, however, more commonly tended to compare Italians with blacks in that both were rebels against rather than victims of slavery. Black journalist Martin R. Delany's 1848 article for the *North Star* titled "True Patriotism" is a case in point. Delany opened the essay with a definition of patriotism as dedication to human rights rather than to one's country—"To be patriotic . . . it is necessary to love *all men,* regarding their humanity with equal importance"—which then allowed him to describe the slave who had fought for the freedom of his race as no less patriotic than the European revolutionist. Whereas the Italian liberal was honored as a martyr, however, the "American colored patriot" who, "rising in the majesty of his nature, with a bold and manly bearing, heads his enslaved brethren, leading them on to a holy contest for the liberty of their wives, mothers, sisters and children," was denounced as "a rebel, insurrectionist, [and] cutthroat."[21] The implicit argument is, once more, that republican America should sympathize with the domestic as well as the foreign struggle for freedom. The difference between this use of transatlantic revolutions for abolitionist purposes and those by whites is that Delany replaced the figure of the helpless black in need of white benevolence with that of the black warrior. The distinction was of paramount importance, since the image of the victimized, feminized black created by white antislavery propaganda was at

odds with the contemporary masculine and martial conception of citizenship. In fact, most white reformers who described blacks as passive victims aimed at obtaining for them freedom from slavery only, whereas the black activists who recounted episodes of black insurrection aspired to become active participants in the life of the republic.[22] Thus, Delany's comparison of the patriotism of international subjects with that of the American slave answered not only proslavery forces but also the more conservative fringes of the antislavery movement.

The only noticeable seeming exceptions to this distinction between white and black abolitionists' rhetoric are the numerous references to transatlantic events in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), where the American slave and the European serf are described as rebels against rather than victims of despotism. As other critics have already noticed, for instance, when the runaway slave George Harris declares his intent to protect his family against the party sent to capture them, Stowe compares him to a Hungarian patriot defending his country against Austrian tyranny and condemns the American public for honoring the white revolutionist but not the black one. The identity between the cause of the European patriots fighting for political freedom and that of the slaves fighting for personal freedom is reinforced on several other occasions in the novel, namely during a discussion between liberal Augustine St. Claire and his conservative brother Alfred and at the very end of the narrative. To Alfred's contention that the solution to unrest among slaves and workers alike is repression, Augustine responds, alluding to the Italians' growing discontent with secular and religious despotism, that "Austria and Pius IX think so now, and some pleasant morning, you may all be caught up to meet each other in the air, *when the boilers burst.*"[23] Larry Reynolds has argued convincingly that Stowe's conflation of the European and the American rebel was an attempt to capitalize on middle-class America's fear of popular uprisings by suggesting that unless slavery were abolished in the near future, the United States would experience the same social upheavals that had plagued Europe.[24] Indeed, the specter of a slave revolt looms large in the concluding lines of the novel, where white revolutionist and slave rebel alike are invested with religious overtones to become emissaries of a wronged and vengeful god. "Every nation that carries in its bosom great an unredressed injustice," declares Stowe, "has in it the elements of this last convulsion. For what is this mighty influence thus rousing in all nations and all languages those

groanings that cannot be uttered, for man's freedom and equality? . . . Is not this power the spirit of HIM whose kingdom is yet to come, and whose will to be done on earth as it is in heaven?"[25] Slave and revolutionist become here the scourge of god, and their rebellion becomes a sign of the second coming of Christ. And, once more, they are both presented in a militant stance, if one connoted with sacrality.

If Stowe does feature in her writing the heroic slave of black antislavery propaganda, it is with one important specification, namely that her militant slave George is a mulatto who can pass for white. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* partakes of a racist ideology that puts mulattoes above full-blooded blacks and attributes the mulattoes' alleged superiority, signified by their intolerance for the condition of slavery, to their white parentage. This link between racial hybridity and militancy is made explicit by Augustine St. Claire, who in response to his brother's assertion that blacks will not revolt if properly controlled, retorts that "sons of white fathers, with all our haughty feelings burning in their veins, will not always be bought and sold and traded. They will rise, and raise with them their mother's race." It is what Augustine calls "the infusion of Anglo-Saxon blood among our slaves" that accounts for George's rebelliousness.[26] And it is the lack thereof that explains why George's narrative counterpart, the full-blooded slave Tom, submits to his destiny instead. Here the seeming opposition between Stowe and other white abolitionists collapses: Tom epitomizes the supplicant slave created by white abolitionist discourse, a slave who can be freed only through the intervention of a white liberator, and whose death at the end of the narrative confirms the novel's participation in the military ideal of republican citizenship. There is no place for him in the American republic.

That Stowe's use of European revolutions to advance the antislavery cause lies wholly within the conventions of white abolitionism is confirmed by her friend and biographer Annie Adams Fields, who chronicled their stay in Italy in 1859–60. It was a crucial time for the liberal party, since Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia was leading a war against Austria's supremacy in northern Italy, and several smaller states in the central regions of the peninsula had rejected the authority of their sovereigns and elected to be annexed to the Kingdom of Sardinia. Stowe could have expressed admiration for the insurgent Italians, but according to Fields, she continued instead to "feel[] for them almost as much as she does for any slave," that is, to focus on their enslavement rather than their resistance to it.[27] The rendition

of her encounter with an Italian liberal reinforces the same point. Fields recounts that while she and Stowe were admiring the head of an Egyptian slave carved in agate in a Roman jewelry shop, the owner, having recognized the author of the popular *La capanna dello zio Tom,* introduced himself as a patriot and offered her the head as a present, explaining, "Madam, we know what you have done for the poor slave. We are ourselves but poor slaves in Italy; you feel for us; will you keep this gem as a slight recognition of what you have done?"[28] Apart from the issue of the accuracy of the incident reported by Fields, its significance in this context lies in the representation of the American slave and the Italian patriot alike as helpless victims in need of the American woman's benevolent intervention. As such, the narrative implies an assertion of racial and national superiority, with important negative consequences for the assessment of a domestic race's and a foreign people's fitness for anything beyond the end of their bondage.[29]

The comparison between black insurgents and European revolutionists, which, as we have seen, so rarely appears in white abolitionist literature, abounds instead among black writers, who employed it to legitimize and glorify slave revolts. In *A Voice from Harper's Ferry* (1861), Osborn Perry Anderson, one of the five blacks who had participated in John Brown's raid against the Virginia federal arsenal, wrote that "there is an unbroken chain of sentiment and purpose from Moses of the Jews to John Brown of America; from Kossuth, and the liberators of France and Italy, to the untutored Gabriel, and the Denmark Veseys, Nat Turners and Madison Washingtons of the Southern American States."[30] In Anderson's narrative, the villains of white America's chronicles—Gabriel Prosser, who had planned to attack Richmond in 1800; Denmark Vesey, who had plotted to assault Charleston in 1822; Nat Turner, who had organized a rebellion that led to the murder of sixty whites in 1831; Madison Washington, who had led a mutiny on a slave ship in 1841; and, finally, John Brown—are transformed into heroes belonging to the same revolutionary tradition on which Christianity, the American republic, and the emergent democracies of Europe were all founded.

Although John Brown was white, the fact that black volunteers had joined him rendered the Harpers Ferry raid an example of the aggressive black militancy advocated by black abolitionist leaders, who by the 1850s had lost faith in Garrison's pacifist approach to the problem of slavery. At an abolitionist meeting held in Boston in December 1860, Douglass

capitalized on the unmistakable similarity between Brown's 1859 expedition at Harpers Ferry and Garibaldi's almost contemporaneous invasion of southern Italy to justify armed revolt against slave power. Like Brown, Garibaldi had invaded the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies accompanied by a small group of volunteers and with the intention of starting a popular insurrection; unlike Brown, however, he had succeeded in his enterprise, which culminated with the abdication of the local dynasty, the Spanish Bourbons, and the annexation of their territories to the Kingdom of Italy. As the man who had been able to fulfill the dream of a united Italy, Garibaldi was at the time regarded as a hero by much of the American public (fig. 11). Arguing for what he defined as the "John Brown way" of opposing slavery, Douglass called for "a Garibaldi . . . who would march into those [southern] states, with a thousand men, and summon to his standard sixty thousand, if necessary, to accomplish the freedom of the slave."[31] Given the enormous popularity enjoyed by Garibaldi in the United States at that time, the equation of John Brown and the Italian patriot functioned to domesticate, even glorify, the use of violence rather than Garrisonian "moral suasion," the awakening of the nation's conscience to the sinfulness of human bondage, in the fight for blacks' freedom.[32]

The Abolitionist Jeremiad

When Europe, after decades of unrest, was traversed at midcentury by a wave of initially successful revolutions culminating in the establishment of republics throughout the continent, abolitionists added to their positive comparison of foreign rebels and domestic slaves a negative comparison between the American republic and the new transatlantic democracies. Skillfully employing nationalistic rhetoric for their own radical purposes, abolitionists argued that America, degraded by slavery, had abdicated its privileged position as supreme realization of democratic ideals to be superseded by the republics of the European continent. Italy was frequently mentioned since, due to its peculiar combination of secular and religious despotism, it had traditionally been conceived by the American political imagination as the epitome of old-world tyranny. The opposition between American and transatlantic republicanism was cast in the slightly modified jeremiadic form we have already seen in Fuller. Nineteenth-

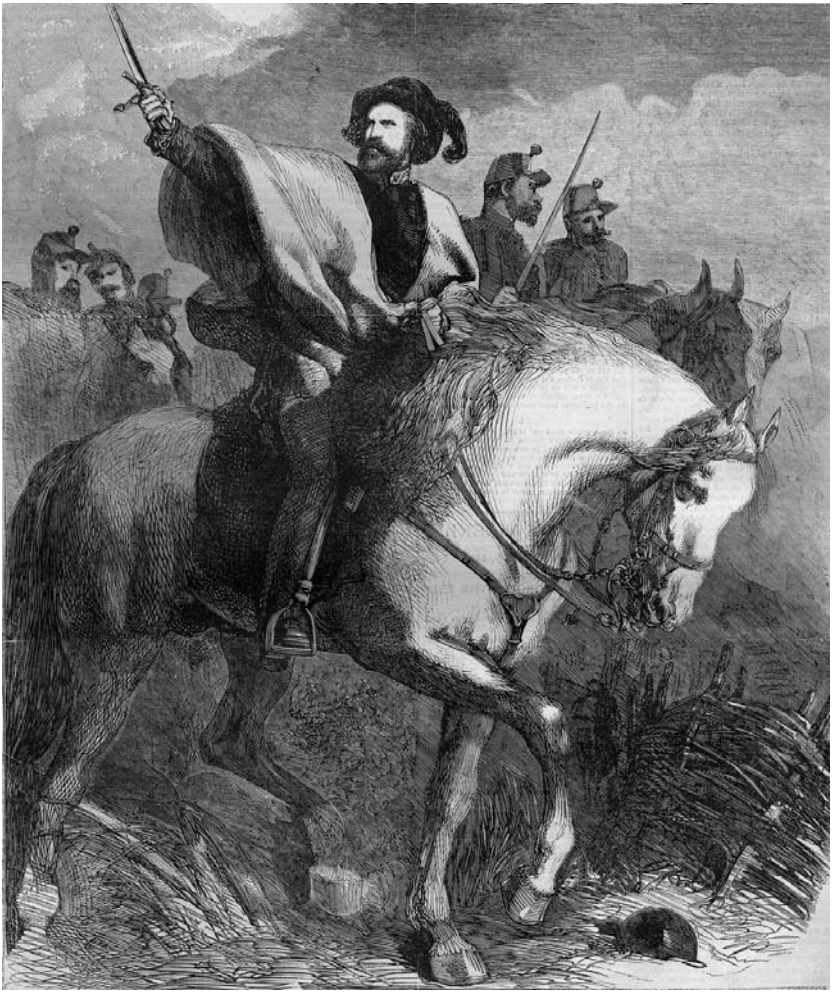


FIGURE 11. General Giuseppe Garibaldi, *from* Harper's Weekly, *9 June 1860*. *This celebratory rendition of Garibaldi on horseback attests to his popularity in the United States.*

century imperialist, slaveholding America was to be castigated not only because it was less free and less righteous than the original republic, but also because it was less democratic than the foreign governments it should have been guiding and directing through its example. The nation was therefore doubly guilty of not having fulfilled its duty toward other nations as well as toward itself. The solution was the abolition of slavery, which would return America to its role of fullest manifestation and unsurpassed model of republicanism. Thus, the narrative of the progress of liberty abroad was once more converted into an argument for the extension of the boundaries of American freedom.

Despite a strain of anti-Catholicism that betrays once more the limits of many antebellum reformers' egalitarianism, Unitarian minister Theodore Parker's 1848 "Discourse on the State of the Nation," reported by the antislavery periodical the *Liberator,* well exemplifies the characteristics of the abolitionist jeremiad.[33] Parker opened his speech by extolling the advance of freedom all over Europe and especially in Italy, where, he believed, the revolution had been spiritual as well as political. In his words, "See how the nations of the old world wake from their stupor! Italy is in motion from the Alps to the Gulf of Taranto. . . . They will have freedom. Slavery is getting abolished. The despots tremble. The Jesuits of the church flee one day, and the Jesuits of the state flee the next." This celebration of the political awakening of foreign peoples is soon contrasted, however, with the present condition of the American republic. Alluding to the definition of America's national identity in terms of its role as political paragon, Parker asks, "Shall America be the last nation that confides her glory to Jesuits—Democratic America, Christian America?" Indeed, he points out, the America of the Mexican War, busy robbing other nations of their lands, seemed to be inspired by greed rather than the dictates of its founders. Parker sadly describes the change in the nation's conduct: "Three-score and twelve years ago today . . . we were in arms, praying to God for the right—only two millions and a half of us, no more—poor, hopeful, valiant, brave. Now we are the oppressors; and the American Eagle, which for two years past has flown over prostrate Mexico, comes back with its talons dripping with blood, bearing in its beak the most precious thing of Mexico. We have established slavery there." The rhetorical power of these sentences derives from their radical inversion of nationalistic mythology: supposedly the first ideal republic and the mentor of all others, America is defined instead as

the last stronghold of despotism, the oppressor rather than the valiant rebel, and the enslaver rather than the liberator. The only possible way to regain the nation's original glory is, of course, the liberation of the slaves, and it is on the image of the greatness of a purified America that Parker closes his address. "What a magnificent spectacle of a great nation this would be," he declares, "if there were no national crime, no war, no slavery, . . . but twenty millions of men, all virtuous, all christian men!"[34] The recovery of America's republican prestige, compromised by the existence of slavery and obscured by the rise of transatlantic liberalism, lay in emancipation.

Black abolitionists similarly capitalized on transatlantic liberalism to attack slavery through the rhetoric of America's republican exceptionalism. Especially when the news reached the United States that the provisional government of the French republic had approved a decree abolishing slavery in all its colonies, free blacks demanded loudly that the United States not be surpassed in reverence to liberty by a land that had just freed itself from the power of a king. Henry W. Johnson, for instance, asked his audience in a public address reprinted in the *North Star,* "Can it be that the despotic governments of the old world are in advance of us? Are they such apt scholars that they have learned our lessons of republicanism better than we know them ourselves?" Could liberty, which had once repaired to America from Europe, have really "retrace[d] her steps" and "go[ne] back over the waves" to "find a home among the sunny hills of Italy, or among the lilies of France"?[35] Like Parker, Johnson was speaking within the terms of nationalistic ideology, with its basic tenet that America had been ordained to be the one ideal expression of democratic principles that all other nation-states would struggle to replicate, and he was manipulating it to further his abolitionist agenda. Slavery, he argued, endangered this conception of the nation, and only with its end would America recover its role as republican model. Unlike Parker, however, Johnson was a black man barred from membership in the national political body, so that to express his critique of American democracy through nationalistic discourse served in his case yet another purpose, namely to demonstrate his allegiance and right to belong to the nation.[36] As for parallels drawn between Italian patriots and American slaves, the white abolitionists' jeremiad often aimed at achieving the liberation only of the slaves, while the black abolitionists' lament over America's loss of republican prestige was intended to obtain for African Americans both natural *and* political rights.

By the end of the 1850s, after Judge Roger B. Taney's decision in the Dred Scott case that people of color could not be citizens of the republic, there was yet more reason for black abolitionists to use the tropes of nationalist rhetoric to further their cause, since by doing so they were implicitly arguing against Taney's sentence. Among others, Frederick Douglass returned in the pages of his monthly to the parallelism he had drawn between Garibaldi's expedition in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry, this time to contrast the response of the Italians and the Americans respectively to actions he believed to be dictated by the same principles. "Garibaldi," he wrote in August 1860, "lands on the coast of Sicily with a few hundred men, as the forlorn hope of Italian freedom, and a brave and generous and appreciating people flock to his standard, and drive the tyrant of Naples from his bloody throne. John Brown takes up arms against a system of tyranny more cruel and barbarous than that of the murderer of Palermo [Ferdinand II, who ruthlessly bombarded his Sicilian subjects to quell the revolt of 1848], and he is hung on a Virginia gallows, while thirty millions of people, whose civil Catechism is the Declaration of Independence, look on unmoved to interference." That the Italians, whom scores of American observers had declared unfit for democracy, should be more willing to fight against oppressive sovereigns than the citizens of a republic founded on the very principle that unjust governments could be lawfully abolished, led Douglass to deplore what he called "this terrible paradox of passing history," namely, the progress of liberty in Europe and its concurrent demise in the United States.[37] As always, the unstated request was that America redress this unnatural state of things, abolish slavery, and reconquer its role as republican paragon.

Italian liberalism would offer Douglass one more occasion to attack the American republic's proslavery policies when Garibaldi was officially invited to assume the position of major-general in the Union Army after the defeat at Bull Run had clearly shown that the North was in dire need of an effective leader. Garibaldi, who had himself emancipated slaves in Brazil and had free blacks among his followers, asked as one of the conditions for his acceptance that he be given assurance that the war would lead to the end of slavery. Douglass once again adopted the rhetorical modes of the jeremiad to comment on the episode. "We cut a strange figure before the civilized world," he lamented in the September 1861 issue of his monthly. Foreign liberals, who had once paid deference to the American

republic as the realization of their own ideals, now requested a guarantee that the United States were indeed fighting for freedom—and the country supposed to be the democratic paragon to the rest of the world could not give it. As Douglass, enraged by the government's persistence in defending slavery, put it, " 'If your war is for freedom, I am with you with twenty thousand men,' says Garibaldi. What answer have we made to it? What answer can we make to it, with our hands all stained with the negro's blood, bound over and over again, with solemn pledges, to protect men-stealers in their robbery of men of all the most sacred rights of humanity?" Once again, the solution to the tragic loss of U.S. political prestige was emancipation. "Such a course," wrote Douglass, "would bring not only Garibaldi and his twenty thousand Italian braves to our side, but what is more important still, our own sense of right, and the sympathy of enlightened and humane men throughout the world."[38] Douglass's appeal remained unanswered, and when the government of Washington denied Garibaldi's request that he be given power to abolish slavery in any territory he conquered, the Italian patriot declined the American offer with words that seem to confirm the black abolitionist's vision of a sinful and despised American republic. According to the diplomats who contacted him in Italy, Garibaldi declared he would not fight in "a struggle in which no important political or philanthropic principle is involved," and where "neither [party] has superior claims upon the sympathies of the European friends of liberty and of progress."[39]

Douglass's 1861 comments on Garibaldi constitute one of the last instances of the articulation of the debate on slavery through the discussion of Italy's political situation. By that date, in fact, the process of unification and liberalization of the Italian peninsula was basically completed, and the Thirteenth Amendment of 1865 would soon free American slaves. It is Douglass's words, then, that conclude this analysis of the dialogue on United States slavery conducted on Italian grounds, a dialogue that had more than two voices and more than two sides, since each was fragmented along class and racial lines. Proslavery advocates were divided among those who censured Italy's struggle to gain independence from Austria on the ground that Italians, like the black slaves, were both well taken care by their masters and incapable of surviving without them, and others who objected that Italians were white and hence entitled to freedom in spite of the mildness of their servitude. Opponents of slavery were more consistent in their support of

Italian liberalism. Still, white abolitionists most commonly compared the American slave and the Italian patriot in that they were victims of oppression in need of support, while black abolitionists preferred to locate the similarity in that they were heroic rebels against tyranny deserving of respect. Despite this fragmentation and its important implications about the classism of some proslavery advocates and the racism of most white abolitionists, all participants in the dialogue performed a similar rhetorical operation; namely, they all attempted to affect the condition of domestic minorities by appealing to the condition of international subjects. The common denominator of the differing, often antithetical discourses analyzed in this essay is thus the interconnection of the domestic and the foreign that characterizes them all. The next chapter discusses yet another domestic debate on the political boundaries of the American republic that took place within reports on revolutions in Italy. The discriminating factor in this case, however, was not skin color but religious affiliation.

> Designing and ambitious men . . . declare that America is for the world; that the sentiment of an enlarged and comprehensive humanity is to put aside and replace the glowing and vitalizing spirit of nationality. . . . This is a most specious and hollow-hearted doctrine. . . . Americans must be Americans; Americans must govern America.
> —Frederick Saunders and Thomas B. Thorpe,
> *A Voice to America,* 1855

5 Republican Debates II

The Religion of the Republic

When Gaetano Bedini, archbishop of Thebes and former governor of the provinces of the Papal States, landed in New York on 30 June 1853, he could not have foreseen that his visit to the United States would be, as he later described it, "così piena di spine"—a "thorny" and dangerous mission that would end in precipitous flight. He had been instructed by Pope Pius IX to present a letter from the pope to the government of Washington, hold interviews with the prelates of the American Catholic Church to acquire information respecting the interests and conditions of Catholicism in the United States, and then proceed to Brazil, where he was to assume the diplomatic position of apostolic nuncio.

Initially, everything went as expected. Bedini, accompanied by the archbishop of New York, John Hughes, was kindly received by President Franklin Pierce and other government officials. Trouble started during the two churchmen's tour of the West. Bedini used his authority to try and settle in favor of the clergy the controversies over lay trusteeship that affected parishes throughout the United States. Catholic parishes were undergoing a much debated and contested shift from a congregational style of church government, which gave considerable power to the lay members of the church, to a more conservative, European form of church administration in which the laity had no authority in spite of their economic contributions.[1] Bedini's support for this hierarchical model of clerical supremacy over the more representative, democratic one was interpreted not only as an attempt on the part of the Church of Rome to interfere with American affairs but as an assault against a form of church organization inspired by the republican institutions of the country. That Bedini was in John Hughes's company made things worse. Hughes was well known for his attack in the early 1840s against the teaching of the King James version of the Bible in the public school system, as well as for an 1850 sermon on the "Decline of Protestantism" in which he had predicted that the United States, including its government, would soon be converted to Catholicism.[2] The first sign of public opposition to Bedini was an article in the *Detroit Tribune* that complained that a U.S. steamer stationed on the northern lakes had been put at his and Hughes's disposal and was transporting them from point to point in their business connected to the Catholic Church at the expense of the American government. Stating that the interests of the Church of Rome were antithetical to those of the American republic, the *Tribune* declared that every true American democrat should object to the government's dispositions, and deplored the compliance of the steamer captain with orders that endangered the safety of the nation.

Attacks against Bedini, however, became severe only when the Italian exile Alessandro Gavazzi accused him of having ordered the execution of the patriot Ugo Bassi in 1849, when Bedini was papal commissary of Bologna and returned to the city with an Austrian army after the fall of the republican government in Rome. Most probably, Bedini was merely guilty of not having prevented the execution rather than of having commanded it, but Gavazzi, a former priest and chaplain to Garibaldi's revolutionary army who had been invited to deliver a series of antipapal lectures in the

United States by the anti-Catholic American and Foreign Christian Union, depicted him as the principal agent of the gruesome tortures to which Bassi had allegedly been subjected before his death. According to Gavazzi, Bedini, who had ordered that Italian patriot Bassi be scalped and skinned alive, was a true representative of a despotic Catholic Church attempting to extend its influence over the free United States.

In the aftermath of Gavazzi's accusations, riots exploded in several American cities. Demonstrations against Bedini took place wherever he stopped on his tour, in Pittsburgh, in Cincinnati, Carthage, and Cleveland, Ohio, and in Covington, Kentucky. Placards were affixed all over New Orleans to arouse public opinion against the papal emissary and incite a rally against him as he arrived there. An anti-Bedini demonstration occurred in Baltimore, where a procession of people burned him in effigy in Monument Square. Likewise, when reports reached New York that Bedini was in the city, the local German press announced that a protest meeting of European exiles and members of the anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant Know-Nothing Party would take place in front of the residence of Archbishop Hughes. The demonstration never took place, possibly because the Irish Catholic community learned about it, and a crowd ready to defend the archbishop and his guest also congregated in Mott Street, but Bedini nevertheless decided to leave New York in haste. He secretly embarked for Liverpool on 4 February 1854, successfully avoiding the demonstrators who had convened at Staten Island to protest against him. Demonstrations continued even after his forced departure: attempts were made in Boston to burn him in effigy on the Common, and a meeting was held in Philadelphia on 11 February 1854, during which resolutions were passed condemning the papal emissary and proposing a petition to the government to interrupt all diplomatic relations with the Papal States because of the despotic nature of their administration.[3]

The chronicle of papal emissary Bedini's visit to the United States well exemplifies how the American response to the foreign vicissitudes of the Italian Risorgimento served to express anxieties regarding the domestic issue of the growth of the Catholic Church in the United States. Apprehensions about the presence on U.S. territory of a high official of the Catholic Church, endowed with authority to proclaim new bishops and hence further reinforce American Catholicism, found confirmation and a catalyst for expression in the tale of Bedini's alleged enmity to Italian liberalism.

That Bassi, a priest and chaplain to the Roman revolutionists, had been condemned by the Catholic Church for his religious reformism as well as his democratic creed contributed to the public perception of Bedini as a dangerous adversary of political and religious freedom who, after having gained a victory abroad, was attempting to destroy Protestant, republican America itself. Thus, under the guise of sympathy for foreign liberalism and opposition to transatlantic despotism, the riots against Bedini expressed first and foremost endemic local fears.

This section of "Republican Debates" focuses on Protestant narratives of the Risorgimento analogous to the tale of clerical despotism devised by the Italian Gavazzi and repeated by the American press and on the Catholic response they elicited. Much has been written by scholars of international relations on the reasons for the active Protestant support of the Risorgimento. In the mind of American Protestants, the movement for the unification of the Italian peninsula into a new, secular nation-state inclusive of the central territories of the Church would terminate the temporal power of the popes and therefore severely enfeeble the Catholic establishment they feared.[4] The connection of philo-Italianism and domestic xenophobia, however, has not been fully explored. Very little attention, for instance, has been given to the fact that quite a few of the Protestant supporters of the Risorgimento were also important members of nativist, or anti-immigrant, organizations aimed at stopping the influx of Catholic immigrants to the United States and severely limiting the civil rights of those who already resided within the nation.[5] Conversely, historians of the anti-immigrant frenzy that characterized the United States in the three decades between the early 1830s and the Civil War have ignored the role played in the nativist campaign by the observation of and commentary on events abroad.[6] In what follows, I aim to fill these gaps in the history of American nativism by underscoring the contribution of Protestant writings on the Italian political developments to the American anti-Catholic crusade.

Protestant accounts of the Risorgimento elicited a wealth of Catholic counteraccounts. Once again, although it is well known that American Catholic rhetoric of the nineteenth century had an apologist intent, namely, that it was concerned with demonstrating, against allegations to the contrary, that Catholicism was compatible with democracy, there has been very little scholarly investigation of Catholic accounts of the Italian revolutions from this perspective.[7] As we will see, Catholics responded to

the Protestant attempt to use narratives of papal antagonism to democracy abroad to disfranchise them by presenting counternarratives affirming the liberal nature of Catholicism and the unfitness, not of Catholics in general, but of the insurgent Italians only, for democratic institutions. For Catholic immigrants and Protestant natives as for abolitionists and proslavery advocates, then, narratives of revolutions in Italy became the site of a mediated controversy over the borders of the American political community itself—over who could be included within the nation and who should be excluded from it.

Domestic Churches

It is opportune at this point to briefly illustrate the historical context that produced and was in turn acted on by Protestant disclosures of clerical tyranny in the Papal States and Catholic protests that the popes had instead been traditionally liberal. Although recent scholarship has revealed that Protestant intellectuals were often fascinated by the sumptuousness of Catholic ritual and that conversions to Catholicism were far from unusual, for the purposes of this study it is safe to generalize that antebellum America was characterized by a fierce anti-Catholicism that found expression in the burning of Catholic churches, attacks against Irish neighborhoods, the establishment of political parties whose agenda was to restrict immigration and impede the naturalization of foreigners already in the United States, and the widespread opposition to the conquest of Mexico and consequent absorption in the body politic of its large Catholic population.[8]

The rise of xenophobia in the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century has numerous causes. The arrival of over three million Catholic immigrants from famine-stricken Ireland and overpopulated Germany, many of them destitute, posed real problems for the eastern cities that received them and had to face the costs of feeding them, housing them, and at times hospitalizing or incarcerating them. Workers' organizations complained that the immigrants, as cheap unskilled laborers, threatened the economic security of the American worker. The Protestant religious establishment looked with apprehension at the phenomenal numerical and geographical expansion of American Catholicism that, fed by immigration, moved from being a small church counting fewer than two hundred

thousand believers in 1820 to the largest single denomination in the United States in 1860, with over three million adherents, thousands of churches all over the country, and hundreds of institutions of higher education. Most importantly, though, the anti-Catholic crusade provided a welcome unifying cause in a nation fractured over sectional and economic lines and astonished that the original vision of an agrarian state of independent landowners was being dispelled by a disquieting reality of industrialization, urbanization, and extremes of poverty and wealth. Given the tradition of antipopery that the United States had inherited from reformed England, reinforced through Puritanism, and revived in their struggles against the Catholic imperial powers of Spain and France, anti-Catholicism provided a ready-made cause behind which to unite a divided nation and divert its attention from problems that would find expression only with the Civil War.[9]

If the anti-Catholic hysteria of the antebellum era was the expression of numerous and diverse anxieties in a nation rapidly changing in unexpected directions, the discursive body employed to attack the growing Catholic community was surprisingly unified. Nativists consistently argued that the newcomers' religion was incompatible with American democracy, whose foundation was Protestantism. Although the First Amendment, adopted in 1791, decreed that the new state would have no established religion, the actual republic was never genuinely secular. On the contrary, it developed what scholars now define as "civil" or "public religion" and what Alexis de Tocqueville described as "republican religion" during his 1831 tour of the United States, namely, a projection of sacred character on national political goals and a conception of religion as a means to create republican citizens. In other words, while the Constitution did not mention God as the founder or guide of the government, political rhetoric afterward unanimously referred to American democracy as willed by God and to religion as the basis of civic education. The deity of this informally established religion, deeply intertwined with the civil order, was nondenominational, but it was clearly Protestant.[10] Confronted with the rise of a powerful Catholic Church in the United States, Protestants argued that only Protestantism, with its emphasis on the individual's autonomous relationship to God and religious texts, plus its rejection of the authority of the clergy as intermediary between the believer and the divine, could be the moral foundation and safeguard of republican America. Protestants asserted that Catholicism, characterized as

it was by a hierarchical organization, where the believer was dependent on the priesthood for access to the divine and salvation, and where the priesthood owed unconditional obedience to the absolute head of the church in Rome, formed subjects rather than citizens and was the religion, at best, of monarchical and, at worst, despotic governments. In any case, a religion that stressed authority (God's and the church's) and submission (the faithful's) was declared ideologically antithetical to American republicanism.

On the basis of this conception of the religious foundation of political institutions and the mutual relationship of Catholicism and absolutism, Protestants devised disquieting tales linking Catholic immigration to international conspiracies to overthrow American democracy. In his influential *Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States* (1835) and *Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United States Through Foreign Immigration* (1835), Samuel F. B. Morse argued that Europe's monarchies, constantly threatened by the example of freedom set by the United States, had enlisted the aid of the Catholic Church to dam the spring of liberty at its source. Immigration was the tool to inject Catholicism and its undemocratic principles into America. The immigrants, the theory went, accustomed to obeying in every matter the authority of their religious leaders, would vote according to papal dictates and elect officials who would lead the country to anarchy and despotism. The solution to the threat constituted by the political power of the Catholic population was to exclude them from participation in the administration of the republic. Morse and the anti-Catholic advocates who followed him consistently demanded that naturalization laws be modified and the probation period required to obtain citizenship be extended from five to twenty-one years, which would serve to ensure that Catholic immigrants be disfranchised. Morse's conspiracy theory remained a constant of anti-Catholic propaganda and resurfaced unchanged in nativist treatises until the eve of the Civil War. The Catholic Church continued to be perceived as actively contending against the nation's republican principles, and Catholic immigrants as "human priest–controlled machines," religious Others to be kept outside the boundaries of the national imagined community.

Texts on Italy, ranging from histories tracing the rise and consequences of the temporal powers of the popes to descriptions of the nature of the government of the Papal States and, most importantly, of the attitude of the Catholic Church toward the progressive intellectual and political

movements that traversed nineteenth-century Italy, had an important role in confirming American Protestants' assessment of the despotic nature of Catholicism and the threat it constituted for democracy in the United States. Even in the midst of cries of papal conspiracy, in fact, nativist writers had to acknowledge that the Catholic Church had in most cases not given Americans any reason to worry, allegedly because it was not powerful enough yet in the United States to show its real nature, in reality because anti-Catholicism, as discussed earlier, was a way of expressing anxiety about a variety of problems unrelated to Catholic immigration. In fact, American Catholicism, especially in the early republican era, was characterized by the influence of Catholic Enlightenment thought, an intellectual movement that had attempted to bridge the gap between the Church of Rome and the new progressive social and intellectual forces of the times. In opposition to conservative post-Tridentine Catholicism, American Catholic leaders supported religious pluralism, argued that the church has jurisdiction only over the spiritual realm, and opposed state regulation of religion. They also insisted that the Catholic Church in the United States be distinctly American and reflect in its organization the political institutions of that country. John Carroll, the first American bishop, envisioned an American church independent from the foreign jurisdiction of Rome, just as the nation was independent from England. His successor, John England, maintained that the government of the church should be republican as that of the state and invited the laity to collaborate with the clergy in the administration of the parish. Granted, this original tendency to fashion a progressive, indigenous form of Catholicism was followed by an antithetical one to transplant onto American soil a European and more conservative version thereof, with consequences such as the demise of the lay trustee system, yet the American Catholic Church remained progressive and consistently endorsed religious toleration and the separation of church and state, even when these doctrines were officially condemned by Rome.[11] Again, in spite of the undeniable fact that nineteenth-century Catholicism was, in historian Jay Dolan's words, a "culture of authority" that emphasized obedience to the authority of God as mediated through the church, this religious vision did in no way interfere with Catholics' allegiance to the republican institutions of the United States.[12] On the contrary, the pastoral letters of the Catholic bishops to their congregations repeatedly exhorted the laity to "show [their] attachment to the institutions of our beloved country."[13] Thus, even when considering the conservative shift undergone

by American Catholicism during the antebellum era and the importance of authority and obedience in the Catholic ethos, there was next to nothing in the United States that would confirm the nativist tales of the "imminent dangers" to American republicanism posed by immigration.

Italy was a different matter altogether. Indeed, the nineteenth century witnessed a conservative backlash within the Church of Rome, mostly in reaction to the danger represented by the intellectual and social movements of the era. The French revolution had led to the Napoleonic conquest of Italy, including the Papal States, and the constitution of a lay state that nullified the authority of the popes and appropriated the property of the church. Italian liberalism, with its vision of a united nation, similarly encroached on papal territories. With the exception of the very beginning of the papacy of Pius IX (1846–78), the official position of the Catholic Church in the post-Napoleonic era was a conservative one, epitomized by the pope's 1864 encyclical *Quanta Cura* and the *Syllabus of Errors,* which condemned not only socialist and communist visions of radical social reorganization but also well-accepted positions such as the right to liberty of conscience and the independence of church and state. Protestant Americans had only to look at contemporary Italy to find proof of the incompatibility of Catholicism and liberalism. American Catholics, on the other hand, found themselves in a difficult position. Catholic apologists had traditionally defended their right to republican citizenship by arguing not only that Catholicism in the United States was eminently American in that it mirrored the institutions of the country, but also that democracy in general and American democracy in particular were founded in Catholic Christianity. Catholic intellectuals who had maintained that the Catholic Church, where rulers were chosen by common consent and decisions taken by councils rather than individuals, was a prototypical democratic organization on which all others, including the American republic, were modeled now found themselves faced with the arduous task of demonstrating that the papacy that put down the Roman republic of 1849 was liberal. For both Protestants and Catholics, Italy's political vicissitudes thus became a testing ground to verify their respective theories on the relation of Catholicism to liberalism, which in turn were essential to determine the boundaries of American nationality. At stake was the possibility for millions of Catholic immigrants of becoming citizens of the republic rather than mere residents in its territory and, as a consequence, the religious and ethnic nature of the nation's body politic.

The Risorgimento in the Anti-Catholic Imagination

In the concluding chapter of his *Roman Republic of 1849,* Theodore Dwight, a well-known writer of treatises on education and contributor to several religious periodicals, declared that Americans more than any other people should pay close attention to the events taking place in Italy. "One of the strongest reasons demanding this," he explained, "is the impression in favor of Popery which has been made by its advocates in this country. For many years some of the leading bishops and priests have labored through the press and at political meetings, as well in public lectures, sermons, and more indirect means, to lead American Protestants to the belief that Popish doctrines and practices are very different from what they have been said to be; from what, in short, they have for centuries been seen and known to be, in other countries." His account of the republican interlude in Rome, however, was meant to alter the American public's naive perception of Catholicism. In his words, "There are facts in this book, small as it is, to prove that Popery is incontestably and necessarily, from her very nature, inconsistent with civil and religious liberty; that she still openly claims to be so in every country but this; and there she confesses, while denying it here, that she has no hope of receiving respect or gaining converts among us, but by pretending and appearing to be exactly what she is not."[14] Dwight's statement of purpose well exemplifies the intent of the entire body of Protestant re-creations of Italian mid-nineteenth-century political history. Confronted with the assertion of countless apologists of American Catholicism that the Catholic Church was not inimical to republicanism, Protestant America looked at the source of Catholicity itself—Rome—for proof to the contrary. Travelers and historians observed and commented on the nature of the papal government and the conditions of the pope's subjects. They found the government despotic throughout, not only under the open tyranny of Gregory XVI but also under the seeming liberality of the beginning of Pius IX's papacy. Their evaluation of the subjects, while less consistent than the unanimous condemnation of the government, still amounts to a demonstration that Catholicism and republican virtue are incompatible. American observers either dismissed Italians as unable to move beyond the destruction of old tyrannies and establish new, democratic institutions because of their Catholic faith, or,

alternatively, praised them as successful revolutionaries, wise founders of democratic governments, and valiant defenders thereof because of their alleged conversion to Protestantism. In either case, the Catholic Church remained despotic, and its adherents remained slaves both in religious and political matters—not citizens.

The exposure and indictment of the despotic nature of the popes' administration is a constant of American Protestant writings on the subject throughout the antebellum era. Observers deplored the censorship of the press, the discouragement of scientific knowledge, the intolerance of political dissidence, and the imprisonment and exile of liberal thinkers that characterized the policy of the church in the post-Napoleonic period. William Ingraham Kip, an Episcopalian minister who visited Rome during the reign of the notoriously conservative Gregory XVI, described the pope's rule as "the most grievous of all tyrannies."[15] Charles Edward Lester, an American consul who commented extensively on the situation in Rome in his book of Italian memoirs, effectively conveyed a sense of Gregory's tyranny by describing his subjects' relief at his death: "The prisons of the Eternal City were full; the arms of the executioners were tired; the spy was by the hearth-stone of every family; and twenty thousand exiles were waiting for the Old Pontiff to cease to breathe. . . . When Gregory XVI was dead, Rome breathed free again."[16] Dwight, whose history records the events of Pius IX's pontificate, agreed with Kip and Lester that the union of spiritual and temporal power rendered the pope "the most absolute of all sovereigns." The pages of his account of the rise and demise of the Roman republic are filled with proof of the absolutist nature of the Church of Rome: a transcript of the oath taken by the members of the secret society known as the Sanfedisti, who allegedly promised to "shed the blood of the infamous Liberals even to the last drop, without regard to sex, age or rank"; the list of horrors—skeletons, torture chambers, and the like—supposedly found in the palace of the Inquisition when it was appropriated by the Roman republicans; the day-by-day record of the punishments inflicted on the people after the restoration of the pope, which closes the narrative.[17] Dwight's account of papal despotism is undoubtedly exaggerated and distorted by the adoption of the conventions of that sensational anti-Catholic fiction that had become popular in the United States and to which Dwight, as one of the authors of the best-selling convent exposé *Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery* (1836), had made an important contribution.

Other, more dispassionate accounts, however, reiterated the same accusations. Writing at about the same time as Dwight, for instance, Baptist clergyman and future Know-Nothing politician Daniel Clarke Eddy again described Pius IX's policy after the revolutions of 1848–49 as a "tyranny such as known nowhere else in the world."[18]

When, upon his election in 1846, Pius IX started on a liberal course of reforms in the administration of the Papal States, anti-Catholic writers insisted that, in spite of appearances, the Church of Rome was still despotic throughout. Reacting to the American display of enthusiasm for the new progressive pope, and especially to the "Public Demonstration of Sympathy with Pope Pius IX and with Italy" held in New York in November 1847, a meeting attended by Protestant clergymen, high officials of the Catholic Church, and several members of Congress, nativist authors rallied to warn the nation that the reforms of Pius IX had in no way bridged the gap separating Catholicism from Protestantism nor made it less dangerous for American institutions. The numerous speakers at the assembly had argued, to quote a few representative passages, that the new pope had "placed confidence in his own people, called them to his aid, and fearlessly restored to them the rights and legitimate powers of free citizens," and they interpreted his resolutions as "an augury that Christianity and freedom—sometimes unwisely separated—will now resume their true relation to each other, and coalesce in natural union."[19] The nativist press responded to this vision of Pius IX as champion of freedom with a careful examination of the motives and nature of his reforms. The consensus among anti-Catholics was that Pius IX had been actuated by motives of policy, namely the need to appease his subjects in order to avert the popular uprisings that had plagued his predecessor's papacy. Referring to the action that had first aroused sympathy for the pope, the amnesty he had granted to political offenders upon his election, the *American Protestant,* for instance, declared, "Why did he do this? Was it not to prevent another revolution, and thus to save his own life? Was he not aware that the flame of indignation in the hearts of Italians was ready to break forth and consume his throne, if those noble-minded men, who had resolved to cast off the yoke of despotism, were not brought forth from their dungeons?"[20] Nativist authors further argued that the reforms adopted by the pope were very limited in their import. Historian Joel Tyler Headley, who would become Know-Nothing secretary of state in New York, stressed that the pope's newly established council of state,

which his sympathizers had equated to a parliament, was not endowed with the authority to legislate independently from the pope or to oppose his decisions. He concluded that "the Pontiff of Rome is to be as supreme as the Emperor of Austria; and he wishes all to understand that he has no intention of weakening that supremacy, but, as a conscientious despot, not to abuse it."[21] In a supplement to his popular *History of Romanism* devoted to the reign of Pius IX, John Dowling similarly criticized what he called "this miserable abortion of a constitution" granted by the pope to his subjects because it did not delegate any power to the people. In his words, "How ingeniously is this instrument constructed, so as, while apparently making concessions to the people, to retain all substance of power where it has ever been since the establishment of papal despotism—with the Pope, his Cardinals, and Priests."[22] Dowling and other Protestant commentators further emphasized that the pope's constitution denied freedom of religion, since it contained a clause to the effect that the profession of Roman Catholicism was indispensable to qualify for civil and political rights. Their unanimous conclusion was that contrary to what some Americans had naively believed, the Church of Rome had not changed under Pius IX's pontificate. Its government remained despotic, antithetical in its political and religious policies to that of the American republic.

American observers were especially interested in the effects of the church's rule on the civic nature of the individuals reared under it. They argued that the Italians, educated within a religious worldview that emphasized hierarchy and the unquestioning obedience owed by the inferior to the superior, lacked in self-reliance and power of criticism, essential attributes of a republican citizen asked to make independent choices concerning the body politic. For Baptist clergyman Robert Turnbull, among others, both the prevalence of political theories demanding solely national autonomy from Austria's imperial power, rather than independence and democracy, and the failure of the Italian republican party to establish lasting governments were symptomatic of the civic deficiencies induced by Catholicism to maintain its religious and political hold on its adherents. Referring to the following obtained by ex-priest Vincenzo Gioberti's proposal that Italy should become an independent confederation of states presided over by the pope and to Piedmontese Massimo D'Azeglio's equally popular vision of a federated nation controlled by the king of Savoy, Turnbull observed in *The Genius of Italy* (1849) that the people kept on

abdicating the control they gained through revolution, or in his words, that "they sigh for independence, but it is independence rather of external than of internal despotism." Turnbull is representative of the Protestant analysis of the Italian political situation in his belief that the Italians' unwillingness or unfitness to govern themselves politically was a result of their habit of depending on the Catholic clergy for spiritual salvation. As he put it, "How indeed can man be free in his social, when a slave in his spiritual relation? How govern the state, when he cannot govern himself? When he abandons to a priest, or a hierarchy of priests, his higher, his immortal interests, how act the part of a freeman and a sovereign in regard to his inferior and secular interests?" "So long as the soul of the individual is given up to the guidance of others," he predicted, "so long will the man, individual and social, be feeble and enslaved." Democracy in Italy was an "impossibility" unless a moral, religious revolution anteceded a political one.[23]

It is precisely a religious revolution that some anti-Catholic supporters of the Risorgimento maintained had occurred in Italy. Protestant groups believed that the destruction of the popes' political power essential to the unification of Italy would considerably enfeeble the Catholic Church and reduce the risk it represented for the United States—a belief that Italian propagandists found convenient to reinforce.[24] Accordingly, nativist groups in the United States supported the Italian revolutionists through a series of organizations, including the American Philo-Italian Society (1842), the Christian Alliance (1843), and the American and Foreign Christian Union (1848), whose ostensible purpose was to promote the religious education of the Italians by smuggling translations of the Bible into the country, but which in practice aided the republican party with financial donations and by influencing American public opinion in their favor.[25] The texts in support of Italian liberalism authored by the members of these organizations had to reconcile two seemingly antithetical intents: on one hand, they aimed at gaining public acceptance for the Italian revolutionists by describing in heroic terms their struggle against papal despotism; on the other, however, they strove to disfranchise the Catholic population of the United States by providing irrefutable proof that papacy was despotic and its followers were tools of despotism. The solution to the paradox of needing to celebrate the fight for freedom of foreign Catholics while seeking to demonstrate that domestic Catholics were unfit for freedom was to argue that the Italians had converted to Protestantism and hence regained that republican self-reliance that Irish immigrants allegedly lacked.

Such is Theodore Dwight's thesis in his *Roman Republic of 1849*. In his defense of the republican interlude in Rome against the negative reports in much of the American press, both Catholic and Protestant, Dwight argued that the Roman revolutionaries had established a stable and just popular government, and that the reason for their ability to first rebel against clerical despotism and then found and maintain a democracy in Rome was their rejection of Catholicism. "To the surprise of the world," he wrote, "the people proceeded to elections by universal suffrage, without violence or disorder; and their representatives assembled and conducted their proceedings with dignity, unanimity, moderation and wisdom, and with a spirit most honorable to their intelligence, liberality and patriotism." Americans had not expected this display of republican virtue in a traditionally Catholic country. "If the mass of the people," Dwight continued, "had been a lawless mob, instead of an orderly army of citizen soldiers and watchmen; if the Constituent Assembly had proved ignorant, incompetent, full of theories, fancies and frenzies, like that of France, with constituents like theirs, divided into several blood-thirsty parties, killing one another by thousands, and all combining to disgrace republicanism abroad and at home, ignorant of it all, except in name, Americans would have said, as many now say of the French, 'This is what might have been expected.' " The conduct of the Romans, so unlike that of the secular French, could be explained only in terms of their detachment from Catholicism. In a Protestant version of the nationalistic myth envisioning America as epicenter of republicanism, Dwight interpreted the Risorgimento as the product of the missionary efforts of the American Bible societies to which he belonged. In his words, "In late years many Italians have learned their rights, by visiting Protestant countries, by reading Protestant books, and especially by studying the Word of God. . . . The grand secret which Americans have yet to learn, to account for the extraordinary spectacle presented by Italy, is this, that Italians have suddenly, and without the suspicion of the world, become devoted Protestants."[26]

Indeed, the figure of the Italian patriot as Protestant characterizes many nativist accounts of revolutions in Italy. Dwight described Garibaldi in such terms in the conclusion to his translation of the Italian's memoirs, published in New York in 1859. Dwight had met Garibaldi during the short period that the latter spent in the United States after the demise of the Roman republic. In his re-creation of the encounter, the Italian general, who had acquired enormous fame for his strenuous defense of Rome

against the joined French, Bourbon, and Austrian armies, does not recount to his American admirers the events of the battles he had so recently fought. On the contrary, Dwight has Garibaldi, who was a military leader rather than a political theorist, discuss "with the clearness of a theologian" the "true doctrines of Christianity, perverted by the enemies of Italian liberty," and denounce "the cruelties of Popery—its degrading tendency—its duplicity, hypocrisy, idolatry and atrocities—its history, desperate condition, and inevitable ruin."[27] Dwight's representation of Garibaldi as a critic of the Catholic Church may have influenced the American perception of his invasion and conquest of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1860. The sketch "The Saint and the Hero" (fig. 12), which appeared in *Harper's Weekly* in October of that year, resembles Dwight's reading of Garibaldi in that it interprets his victory over the despotic government of the Bourbons in religious rather than social terms. Garibaldi is depicted chasing out of Naples, capital of the kingdom, a monk carrying away with him, among other devices used to stage false miracles, a vial containing the blood of St. Januarius. *Harper's* readers would have recognized the allusion, since numberless Protestant visitors to Naples had described the liquefaction of the saint's blood when carried next to the remains of his body, a phenomenon that they generally explained in terms of the liquid's reaction to differing temperatures and deplored as a corruption of religion to ensure the clergy's power over the faithful. Thus, the freedom restored by Garibaldi to the population of the south is seen first and foremost as a liberation from the tricks of the priesthood, those "holy knaves" and "false jugglers" to whom an anonymous poem accompanying the sketch ascribes full responsibility for Italy's condition of "slavery" prior to the revolutions.[28] No mention is given to the oppression of the southern agricultural laborers under a system that retained feudal characteristics, nor to the critique of this economy on the part of the Italian political left. The Italian patriot remains a religious reformer only.

For all the nativist insistence on their rejection of Catholicism, however, Italians had not converted to Protestantism in any considerable number, nor were Italian patriots seeking to overturn the Church of Rome. True, a group of evangelicals, known as Waldenses, had traditionally lived in the northern regions of the Kingdom of Sardinia. Other evangelical groups had more recently sprung up around the Protestant churches serving the communities of foreigners who resided in several Italian cities. Neverthe-

FIGURE 12. The Saint and the Hero: Garibaldi Driving St. Januarius and the Winking Picture out of Naples, *from* Harper's Weekly, *20 October 1860. The equating of Garibaldi's arrival in Naples with the demise of the power of the church suggested in the illustration confirms that Protestant observers of the Italian revolutions often misread them as a religious, anti-Catholic movement.*

less, the Protestant presence in nineteenth-century Italy was insignificant. Catholicism did have critics among Italian intellectuals, but most sought a reformation of the church from within rather than a separation from Rome. As for the Risorgimento, it was a strictly sociopolitical movement, not a religious one. Italian patriots were often radically antipapal not for theological reasons, but because the Papal States stood in the way of Italian unification, and the government of the popes was the worst in Italy, unable and unwilling to provide for its subjects (fig. 13). Much to the chagrin of the American Bible societies, for example, the government of the

FIGURE 13. Dignum et justum est, *from Gino Daelli,* A Relic of the Italian Revolution of 1849 *(New Orleans, ca. 1853). This contemporary Italian lithograph portrays the Roman republic distributing among the poor the food that the cardinals had reserved for themselves. Although the Italian plate is strikingly similar to the American rendition of Garibaldi's conquest of Naples ten years later (fig. 12), it differs in that it represents the Italian liberals' enmity to the Catholic Church in socioeconomic rather than doctrinal terms.*

Roman republic showed a deferential attitude toward Catholicism as the religious creed of the majority of the population and limited itself to assert in the constitution the principle of freedom of conscience. Still, the vision of a Protestant Italy fighting against papacy is not, as one commentator once called it, "l'illusione protestante," a somewhat naive conviction that a few smuggled Bibles had sufficed to convert and revolutionize the entire country, but an integral part of an exclusionary conception of freedom as founded in evangelical Christianity.[29] Given that the ultimate aim of Protestant narratives of Italian revolution is to prove that Catholicism and democracy are irreconcilable, the representation of successful Italian

republicans as Protestant converts is far from naive. On the contrary, it performs the same cultural work of the seemingly antithetical image of Italian Catholics as political slaves, namely, to demonstrate that republican citizens cannot be Catholics.

The Risorgimento in the Catholic Imagination

American Catholics responded en masse to the Protestant attempt to validate through narratives of Italian events their contention that Catholicism was a despotic system. Catholic accounts of the Italian political scene strove to demonstrate instead that the popes had traditionally been liberal and, by implication, that the Protestant allegation that Catholicism and republicanism were irreconcilable was false. In the first years of Pius IX's pontificate the task was relatively easy since the new pope entered a course of progressive reforms, and his policy could be extolled to refute nativist charges. The events of 1848–49, however, put Catholic apologists in the difficult position of having to display their attachment to American republicanism while at the same time deploring the republican revolution in Rome. The contributors to the Catholic periodicals investigated in this section, the *United States Catholic Magazine* of Baltimore, the *Boston Pilot,* and the *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register* of New York, solved this dilemma by condemning the Roman republic within the accepted language of American political theory. Appealing to the notion that revolution was a legitimate form of political action only in response to tyranny, Catholic writers condemned the Romans for having rebelled against a model sovereign. Evoking the worst nightmares of the American political imagination, some argued that the government established in Rome was not a republic but the tyranny of a few demagogues who had exploited to their advantage the decisional power unwisely granted to ignorant masses. Still others depicted the republic as a corruption of democracy, a government that maintained consensus through the brutal assassination of its opponents and ensured its financial stability through the appropriation of private property. This depiction of the Roman republic as illegitimate in its incipiency and corrupt in its course allowed Catholic apologists to reconcile their obligation as Catholics to show loyalty to the pope in his plight and their need to display their respect for American institutions at a

time when their allegiance to the republic was being questioned. Catholic narrators of the Risorgimento further attempted to display their adherence to the founding principles of American democracy by enthusiastically supporting the cause of Italian independence from foreign domination. While they condemned the Romans' revolution as unlawful, they endorsed insurrections against the Austrians in the north and against the Spanish Bourbons in the south as the people's rightful rebellion against governments that had usurped and ill-used their authority. And, once again, the ways in which the Catholics' advocacy of the cause of Italian independence served to counteract the potential detrimental effects of their denunciation of the Roman republic can best be understood when chronicles of Italian events are examined not in the international context to which they seemingly belong but in the domestic context of nativist politics. The purpose of Catholic narratives of the Risorgimento is not so much to provide accounts of events in revolutionary Rome or Milan but to produce evidence that American Catholics could be included as political subjects within the American republic.

Catholic periodicals reported extensively on the liberal reforms adopted by Pius IX. While extolling the progressive course initiated by the pope, however, Catholic writers disagreed with that portion of the Protestant press that had depicted Pius IX as the first liberal sovereign of the Papal States. Far from being an oddity in the history of the otherwise despotic Church of Rome, Pius IX, they argued, was merely pursuing a long tradition of Catholic liberalism. In an article titled "The Pope and His Protestant Sympathizers," for instance, the *Freeman's Journal* responded to the Protestant contention that the actions of the new pope were unprecedented in the history of the Catholic Church by declaring that on the contrary, "the Holy See is just what it ever was, the great guardian of human rights."[30] The speeches delivered at the demonstration in favor of Pius IX held in New York in November 1847 elicited a similar rebuttal. As we have seen, participants at the meeting had maintained that Pius IX's measures had finally rejoined Christianity with freedom. Statements of this nature, declared the *Freeman's Journal,* wrongly assumed that the new pope's predecessors had all been opponents of civil liberty and ignored that "most of the struggles in which the Popes have been engaged with temporal governments have been caused by their zeal with social rights and the protection of the otherwise defenseless people against the tyranny of their sovereigns." According to

the anonymous reviewer of the New York meeting in support of Pius IX's policies, European monarchs had rejected the doctrine of the supremacy of the church over the state during the era of the Reformation precisely to be able to exploit the people without having to face the remonstrances of the popes. In fact, the writer continued, not only did sovereigns take measures to ensure that the pope would not meddle with their treatment of their subjects, but they also prevented him from ameliorating the conditions of his own subjects for fear that reforms in the state of the church would trigger revolutions in their own. Pius IX was thus unlike the popes who had preceded him not in that he was in favor of popular liberty but in that he rejected the authority of European powers to control his national policy. Pius IX, the essay concluded, had "claimed the personal freedom necessary to make his people free."[31]

Since the pope was a model sovereign whose only care was the well-being of his subjects, then the Romans' rebellion against him could not be justified. Catholic apologists insisted that the people of Rome, on whom the pope had lavished his love, had treated him with ungratefulness. The archbishop of New York, John Hughes, for instance, declared in a sermon reprinted in the *Pilot* that "the Pontiff who began his reign by enlarging the freedom of his people, and opening the prison doors of political captivity, who struck the fetters from the innocent, because it was his duty, and from the guilty, because it was his inclination—this same Pontiff is himself now a fugitive—this same people, and, be it known, one of those whom he released from the dungeons of political captivity among the foremost of them, have driven him from the sepulcher of St. Peter, and have there established their own sacrilegious watch."[32] If one accepted Hughes's contention that Pius IX had been a good sovereign, the Roman revolution could not be defended. American political theory justified violent disobedience to one's government only if that government failed to use the power with which it had been endowed by the people to their advantage. If the sovereign fulfilled his part of the social compact, however, the people were expected to comply with theirs by obeying him.

Catholic convert Orestes Brownson expanded on this negative evaluation of the Romans by arguing that the desire to establish democratic institutions was not a legitimate reason to overthrow an existing government. Echoing the words of contemporary conservative American political theorists such as Francis Lieber, Brownson declared that no form of government

could be preferred a priori to another, since a government's merit depended on its actual policies and its appropriateness to the degree of civic virtue of the governed. In fact, democratic institutions were best for Americans only, who were fit for them, but they neither suited nor benefited other peoples. The Roman revolutionists held the opposite and, according to Brownson, erroneous belief in "exclusive democracy," the notion that "democracy is the only legitimate form of government, that all other forms are illegitimate, usurpations, tyrannies, to which the people owe no allegiance, and which they may when they please, or believe it will be for their interest, conspire to overthrow."[33] The republic established in Rome should be deplored, Brownson concluded, exactly because it had been founded on the principle that popular institutions were essential to the people's happiness and that the people had a right to cast off their allegiance to a legal, enlightened, model government to establish such institutions. Unless one challenged the presupposition that Pius IX's power had been legal and that he had exercised it in an exemplary manner, no American could have found either Hughes or Brownson wrong.

Other narrators of the events of 1848–49 preferred to emphasize that the people of Rome had loved Pius IX and would not have betrayed him—a version of the story that made it easier to support the essential contention that the pope had been a good sovereign—and produced a different account of the establishment of the republic. The *United States Catholic Magazine* argued that the new government had been imposed on the Romans by a group of demagogues desirous of obtaining personal power, but that the majority of the inhabitants of the Papal States were "heartily opposed" to it.[34] In this rendition of the democratic interlude in Rome, republican leaders had allegedly paid workers to gather in the principal streets of Rome and demonstrate against the pope "without ever letting them know what they were about."[35] Analogously, claimed the *United States Catholic Magazine,* on the day of the election of the constituent assembly, the political organ that would establish a new government in the Papal States, republican extremists had brought to the polls "all the sick of the different hospitals" and "*forced* [them] to vote and to vote in a certain way." Those same radicals had further supposedly threatened to withhold the pay of hundreds of workmen unless they voted, and connived so that a "great number" of their supporters could vote "several times."[36] The scenario evoked here closely resembles the Protestant visions of the corruption of democracy that would

occur if Catholic immigrants were allowed to participate in the political life of the American republic. Nativist authors from Morse onward had claimed that if the Irish were endowed with franchise, they would be coerced by their religious leader to elect dishonest politicians who would lead the nation to ruin. The similarity between Catholic renderings of demagoguism in Rome and nativist forebodings of the perversion of republicanism in the United States is not coincidental. On the contrary, by describing the political crimes committed by the Roman republicans in the same language used by their Protestant detractors to disfranchise them, American Catholics were implicitly arguing for their right to citizenship. In fact, their condemnation of the corruption of popular democracy in Rome amounts to a declaration that—contrary to nativist allegations—American Catholics held the same political values as American Protestants, cherished the same vision of republicanism, and equally feared its potential degeneracy.

Whether the people of Rome had agreed to reject the authority of the pope or whether the new government had been established in "contempt of the popular will," Catholic writers unanimously claimed that the republic was illegal and described its proceedings as confirming the illegitimacy of its foundation.[37] Once more, the critique of the republicans' conduct was carried out within the parameters of American political discourse. The major political sin committed by the Romans, emphasized even more than the presumed murder of members of the clerical party by the enraged populace, was their violation of private property. Countless articles on "The Work of Spoliation at Rome" described how the new government had ordered the confiscation of the entire property of the church, compelled the richest inhabitants of Rome to contribute heavily to the finances of the state, and supposedly intended to sell the masterpieces of the Vatican galleries to finance the war against the allied forces that had come to the pope's rescue. According to American liberal ideology, private ownership was the foundation of economic independence, and economic independence was the essential condition of political freedom. Within this political worldview, the acts of confiscation decreed by the republican leaders, which they intended as reparation for the previous economic exploitation of the working classes by the clergy and the nobility, were perceived as virtual attacks against freedom that betrayed the fundamentally despotic nature of the Roman republic. The words of the anonymous writer of foreign news in the *Pilot* are exemplary of how Catholics managed once more to

condemn the Roman republic and defend their own republicanism within the boundaries of the same text. "Though we sympathize with the efforts of those who would be free," the writer declared, "we must condemn the rapacious proceedings of these Roman republicans who lay violent hands not only on vested interests but on private property. This is robbery—not revolution—and it cannot thrive."[38] Indeed, by making the Roman patriots guilty of the capital offenses of the American political ideology, the reporter for the *Pilot* was demonstrating his own and his readers' sympathy for the original quest for freedom on which that ideology was founded.

To counter Protestant allegations that American Catholicism had finally revealed its un-American political nature in the defense of the pope against his people, the Catholic press became the staunchest supporter of the cause of Italian freedom—whenever it did not involve the Papal States. Commenting on the alliance formed in 1849 between the Lombards and the Piedmontese to chase the Austrians from northern Italy, for instance, the *Pilot* wrote enthusiastically, "There is no sight on the surface of this round, rugged world half so grand and beautiful as that of a *united* people going out to fight against tyrants and plunderers, for their dwellings, their wives, their children and their sacred honor! . . . God send the utter destruction of all foreign and tyrant power in Italy!"[39] As this passage reveals, Catholic writers emphasized the illegitimacy and the despotic nature of the governments against which they were endorsing rebellion. Austrian and Spanish rule in Italy, they argued, derived from the unlawful appropriation of another people's national territory. Moreover, as they demonstrated by chronicling the Austrians' plundering of the insurgent Lombard towns and the Bourbons' sacking of Catania and Syracuse in Sicily, both governments had, through their own mistreatment of their subjects, lost any right to expect loyalty from them. Catholics could not but sympathize with "the efforts of those who would be free" in this case. In fact, the *Pilot* lamented the conservative backlash that followed the demise of the revolutionary movements of 1848–49, and expressed a wish for the time when "another general assault against the whole line of kings and aristocracies . . . will clear Europe of them and their evil influences."[40] The statement seems to be fully in the tradition of American radical republicanism, but when read in the context of the Catholic defense of papal rule it belongs to, it contains one important qualifier. The "evil influences" referred to here may be the attributes of the emperor of Austria, the king of the Two Sicilies, and the

grand duke of Tuscany, but they are not attributes of Pope Pius IX, whom pages and pages of Catholic apologetics had depicted as a legitimate and enlightened monarch. Thus, the Catholic advocacy of Italian liberalism ends at its starting point, namely the assertion of the pope's right to his kingdom and his people's obedience. Throughout this trajectory, Catholic apologists managed to damn the revolutionists in Rome and celebrate the ones in Milan, defend the pope and denounce all other sovereigns—all in the name of American principles and all with the ultimate intent of exhibiting their allegiance to them.

The narratives of the Risorgimento we have examined in this section reinvented the Italian revolutions to defend the Catholic population's right to membership in the American republic. Catholics were responding to antithetical Protestant re-creations of Italian contemporary history aimed at excluding Irish immigrants from participation in the nation's body politic. Protestants with nativist inclinations and Catholic apologists, however, were not the only American narrators of the struggles for political freedom and social justice that took place in midcentury Italy. As we have seen in the previous chapter, proslavery advocates and abolitionists also chronicled Italian events and used them extensively in their respective campaigns. Although these groups had different goals, they were all concerned with answering the same question about who could be an American. Nativists and proslavery advocates answered in a restrictive manner and argued for the limitation of republican citizenship on the basis of religion and race. Catholics and radical abolitionists, on the contrary, denied that racial and religious persuasion were factors affecting civic virtue and offered an extensive definition of Americanness. In spite of these differences, all were articulating and resolving domestic concerns within a discourse on international Others. The representation of foreign peoples, often considered an issue of international policy alone, was thus essential in the contest for the definition of national identity.

Epilogue

Revolution and Immigration

"The main question which underlies the problem of immigration," declared the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1893, at the opening of a decade that would see the Italian population in the United States soar to almost one million, "concerns the extent to which the foreign people we receive are already fit, or may readily be prepared, for incorporation into the body of American citizens."[1] The answer provided by the author of "European Peasants as Immigrants" and the numerous members of nativist organizations such as the American Protective Association (1887) and the Immigrant Restriction League (1894) was radically negative: the immigrants

from southern and eastern Europe who had started swarming to the United States in the 1880s, they argued, could not be admitted into the American commonwealth without compromising its survival.[2]

Histories of the Italian revolutions of the mid–nineteenth century helped make that argument. American narratives of the Risorgimento did not fade with the unification of Italy. Rather, they persisted, providing a useful framework for turn-of-the-century nativists to voice doubt about the ability of this particular segment of the "huddled masses" to take on the trappings of democratic citizenship. Specifically, the two major accounts of the Risorgimento composed by American historians at the close of the nineteenth century, William Roscoe Thayer's multivolume *Dawn of Italian Independence* (1892–93) and William James Stillman's *Union of Italy* (1898), contributed to the growing hostility against Italian immigrants by reinforcing the perception that Italians lacked the political training essential to the exercise of republican citizenship. As with earlier texts, these late narratives of the course of nation formation in Italy were thus instrumental to the continuing process of national self-definition in the United States. However, while mid-nineteenth-century histories of the Risorgimento had contributed to the debates on the role of African Americans and Irish Catholics in the conduct of the republic, turn-of-the-century versions of those same events intervened in the discussion about the suitability of Italians themselves for national citizenship. Thus, Thayer's and Stillman's histories constitute a variation on the pattern identified so far, in which international Others stood for domestic Others unlike themselves. Still, these new narratives confirm the validity of the basic analytical assumption of this study, namely, that internal ethnoracial categories are defined in the interaction with other nations. Together, the stories told by Americans about the Risorgimento, both contemporary to its events and latter day, suggest the fruitfulness of exploring American cultural pluralism in a transnational framework.

Thayer's history of Italian liberalism from the Congress of Vienna in 1815 to the short-lived republics of the midcentury follows the pattern of representing foreign revolutions as quickly degenerating into anarchy. As in many contemporary renditions of the Risorgimento, the main character in his re-creation of Italian liberalism is the mob. It is a "loud-mouthed mob," whose members "had murder in their wild brains," that demonstrates in Milan against King Charles Albert of Sardinia when he decides to abandon

the city to the Austrians rather than sustain a siege. Again, it is "bands of plebeians" that take control of Rome during the republican interlude of 1849, which Thayer significantly labels as a "descent from moderation into excesses."[3] And to the mob Thayer devotes several pages, describing its composition, its primal appetites, and its origin in the "perfidy, oppression and incompetence" of Italy's rulers, which "helped in any city to swell the numbers of the desperate class and to whet their brutal instincts." Since this mass of disfranchised people has been taught by experience to associate the idea of government with the wrongs that the elites perpetrate against them, he argues, they conceive of freedom as lack of government. In his words, "Laws they respect not: are not the laws barriers set up by the rich and fortunate to keep these abject ones from the loaf and flagon they covet?" Given these premises, it comes as no surprise that Thayer should evaluate Italians as unprepared for democracy and impute the failure of the revolutions of the first half of the century to their lack of political training. Liberal leaders like Mazzini, he declares, had "an imperfect estimate of the amount of education that would be necessary to fit the great mass of the Italian people to govern themselves." "Let us not wonder," he concludes, "that they did not establish a permanent government; that is a work of art requiring the longest training and undisturbed reflection—the Italians had neither."[4]

In his *Union of Italy,* Stillman reproposed Thayer's thesis that the Risorgimento had been crippled by the lack of political education of a population trained by centuries of oppression "to look at government and tyranny as synonymous." The Italians, he maintained, equated freedom with absence of government and did not understand that the survival of the commonwealth required the limitation of personal rights by laws protecting the rights of others. "Unable to perceive a common interest," he wrote, the people had often interpreted the revolution, which aimed at freeing the country from foreign imperialism and liberalizing its institutions, only "in the sense of personal liberty."[5] The result of these tendencies was the "disorganization"—as the last chapter of *The Unity of Italy* is entitled—which had characterized Italian society since the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy in 1861.

Unlike Thayer, however, Stillman drew a sharp distinction between northern and southern Italians and identified the main source of Italy's political problems in the premature annexation of the Papal States and the

Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. According to him, the "natural outcome" of the Romans' immemorial subjection to an absolute theocracy was that they were "incapable of understanding what was meant by law or constitutional government." As a consequence, he declared, they were "restive under legal control" and prone to "brigandage, revolt, [and] all sorts of social vices." Condemning as anarchical behavior the resentment felt by southerners at the heavy taxation and long military service imposed by the new Piedmontese administration, Stillman analogously dubbed the Neapolitans "insubordinate" and the Sicilians "lawless." While Cavour had hoped that a united Italy could be an "enlarged Piedmont" modeled on England, he concluded that the acquisition of the southern provinces before they had become fit to govern themselves had turned Italy into a chaotic "enlarged Naples" with an uncertain political future.[6]

At the same time as Thayer was declaring that mid-nineteenth-century Italians were unprepared for republicanism and Stillman was charging Neapolitans and Sicilians in particular with being the primary cause of Italy's social unrest in the postunitary period, Italians were migrating in large numbers to the United States, especially from the south. Thayer's and Stillman's texts found ready readers. Italian immigrants in the United States were the object of accusations similar to those raised against Italians in Italy by *The Dawn of Italian Independence* and *The Union of Italy.* Unlike the orderly and sober, allegedly "Teutonic" northern Italians who had come in small numbers before 1880, the newcomers from the south were charged as indifferent to politics, disrespectful of all laws, and inclined to violent crimes. On the basis of this kind of indictment, they were often pronounced to be undesirable immigrants, inassimilable aliens who would corrupt the body politic.[7] The author of the *Atlantic Monthly* essay that opens this section concluded his investigation of the suitability of southern Europeans for American citizenship by declaring that a people whose "only relationship with the ruling orders of society" was either "blind respect or an equally blind antagonism" constituted a "danger of the most serious sort to a democratic state."[8]

Thayer's and Stillman's negative verdict on the Italians taking part in the revolutions of midcentury clearly mirrors the wide-spread contention that the southern Italian immigrants who had settled in the United States at the end of the century were unsuited for citizenship in the American republic. Although the relationship between the censure of Italians in their

own country and of Italians in the United States was not made explicit, it is safe to suggest that the former reinforced the latter. Thayer's narrative of how Italy's revolutionists abused the freedom they had fought for and how their republics degenerated into anarchy could only confirm the suspicion that Italians would misuse the rights they would be granted in the United States. And if the people of southern Italy had become uncontrollable when a constitutional monarchy took the place of the absolute despotisms to which they had been subjected, as Stillman argued, one could only infer that they surely lacked the capability for self-control expected of the members of the American republican polity. Derogatory representations of the Risorgimento coeval to the Italian migratory exodus to the United States thus actively—if indirectly—intervened in the debate over the dangers of immigration.

In this way, the image of the Italian as ineligible for republicanism circulated from the foreign context of Italy's political modernization to the domestic context of increasing immigration, becoming more ingrained in the American national consciousness because of its recurrence within these different sites. Once more, the discourse on peoples situated outside national geographical boundaries resonated within those boundaries and affected internal ethnic confrontations. The difference between these late-nineteenth-century accounts of the Risorgimento and their midcentury predecessors lies merely in the role played by Italians within them. Whereas in the early narratives the Italian revolutionists had been figures for other marginalized groups within the United States, be it African Americans or Catholics from Ireland, in the histories by Stillman and Thayer they were representing their own compatriots in the Little Italies of New York, Boston, Chicago, and other major American industrial centers. Foreign Others had become domestic Others, but the rhetorical strategies to disfranchise them remained the same. To ignore this constant imbrication of the domestic and the foreign in American ethnic history would be, in the words of literary critic Lora Romero, to risk a "nationalist cooptation" of multicultural studies.[9]

That the domestic and the foreign are constantly imbricated has been the central argument in this book, which has explored one location of this interconnectedness, namely, American re-creations of the process of nation formation in Italy around the mid–nineteenth century. Although

the choice of subject was a natural one for me, since I happen to be a nineteenth-century Americanist who was born and schooled in Italy before moving to the United States for postsecondary education, it has been an especially felicitous one, both in terms of time frame and geographic location. In fact, most analyses of American culture in a global context have focused on either the colonial period, characterized by European imperialism in North America, or the twentieth century, which witnessed American imperialism—territorial, economic, political, and cultural—in the rest of the world. With very few exceptions, the nineteenth century continues to be perceived as a period when the United States looked within, uninterested in and unaffected by what happened outside the North American continent.[10] This book proves otherwise. As we have seen, Americans looked beyond national boundaries at the political struggles in Italy to define their nation relationally as an admired, emulated, and yet unsurpassed model of republicanism. Of course, revolutionary Italy was not the only occasion for the articulation of American identity in such exceptionalist terms. Similar statements can be found, for instance, in American commentary on the anticolonial revolutions in South America in the first half of the nineteenth century. What makes the discourse on Italy especially interesting is that American commentators replaced a prior, legitimizing national narrative in which the newly founded American republic was cast as the inheritor of ancient Rome with a revised, aggrandizing one wherein it figured instead as the progenitor of Mazzini's Roman republic of 1849. Focusing on Italy, therefore, has allowed me to stress not only the relational, polygeographic nature of national identity but also its flexibility and temporal specificity. Additionally, this study demonstrates that antebellum America's negotiation of internal power differential had a transnational component. Once again, the focus on Italy proved fruitful. Because of the characteristics of the Italian population—non-Anglo-Saxon, Catholic, and with a long history of enslavement to foreign despotism and domestic theocracy—the discourse on the Italians' fitness for participatory democracy contributed to the domestic debate about the eligibility for American citizenship of comparable groups: African Americans and Catholic immigrants. To conclude, the analysis of American narratives of the Risorgimento has made it possible to reclaim at least one international locale of mid-nineteenth-century American articulation of national identity and domestic pluralism.

As an example of the usefulness of a transnational American studies and, specifically, a global approach to the study of nineteenth-century American culture, *Domesticating Foreign Struggles* is also an invitation to others to further open up the boundaries of nineteenth-century U.S. cultural history in particular and, more generally, of American cultural history. Calls for a globalized American studies, however, will remain unanswered, as they have largely so far, unless we also call for a new kind of American studies practitioner, one able to look not only beyond national boundaries at other nations but also to look at the United States from other nations. An essential dimension of an internationalized American studies, in fact, is a comparative, or exogenous, perspective. In this book, the analysis of American re-creations of revolutions in Italy—with their angry mobs or adoring foreign patriots—would have risked becoming one more affirmation of American exceptionalism without the presence of the differing voices of contemporary Italian revolutionists and, later, Italian scholars of the Risorgimento. The Italian critique of American-style democracy and exploration of the ideological foundations of the Risorgimento are both crucial to the demystification of the American narrative. As one scholar put it, to achieve an international American studies practice free from the pitfalls of nationalist cooptation, we need to look not only at others but also at ourselves in "the mirror of the other."[11] That, in turn, requires scholars willing and able to look at the United States from different national perspectives, conversant with the cultural histories of those nations and, necessarily, with national languages other than English. As long as Americanists remain monolingual, largely disdainful of scholarship on the United States produced outside of American academia, and ignorant of cultures other than their own, an internationalized American studies will remain a vision only.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Among the numerous descriptions of a global approach to the study of American culture, see the introduction to Bender, *Rethinking American History,* 1–21; Desmond and Dominguez, "Resituating American Studies"; Giles, "Reconstructing American Studies" and *Virtual Americas,* especially 1–21; Kadir, "Introduction"; Ickstadt, "American Studies"; Lenz, "Towards a Dialogics"; Romero, "Nationalism and Internationalism"; Rowe, "Post-Nationalism, Globalism, and the New American Studies" and "Nineteenth-Century United States Literary Culture"; Thelen, "Of Audiences, Borderlands, and Comparisons"; and the collaborative introduction to Rowe, *Post-Nationalist American Studies,* 1–21.

2. Kaplan, " 'Left Alone with America': The Absence of Empire in the Study of American Culture," in Kaplan and Pease, *Cultures of United States Imperialism,* 16. See also Kaplan's essay "Domesticating Foreign Policy" and her monograph *Anarchy of Empire.*

3. Among other essays warning that the focus on internal ethnoracial difference could become another unifying nationalist narrative and reinforce American isolationist and exceptionalist mythologies, see Radway, "What's in a Name," and Messmer, "Towards a Declaration of Interdependence."

4. See Balibar's essay "Racism and Nationalism" in Balibar and Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class,* 37–67.

5. I maintain in this study that the confrontation with revolutionary Italy was central to the articulation of American national identity in the antebellum era. Historians of U.S. international relations, however, have traditionally devoted little attention to American commentary on the Risorgimento and focused instead on the response elicited in the United States by the French socialist revolution of 1848. The major studies of U.S. assessments of the European revolutions of the mid-nineteenth century—Williams's *America Confronts a Revolutionary World,* Larry Reynolds's *European Revolutions,* and Davis's *Revolutions*—emphasize that the American condemnation of the socialist bent taken by the French revolution reflected the fear of proletarian insurrections that haunted a bourgeois democracy. Although the censure of French socialism is no doubt indicative of class division in the United States, racial and ethnic tensions are most evident when Americans commented on revolutions in Italy.

6. Eagleton's *Ideology* is a useful guide to the range of different definitions of the term "ideology." For the purposes of this study, I use "ideology" to indicate the system of beliefs through which a society coheres and maintains power differentials. For Bercovitch's theory of American ideology's capability to contain dissent, see his classic *American Jeremiad* and the more recent *Rites of Assent.*

7. For an overview of the events of the Risorgimento, see Brendon, *Making of Modern Italy;* Holt, *Making of Italy;* Riall, *Italian Risorgimento;* and Woolf, *History of Italy.*

For a more detailed account, see Candeloro's eight-volume *Storia dell'Italia moderna* and the multi-authored, six-volume *Storia d'Italia dal settecento all'unità* edited by Valeri.

8. For an excellent overview of the work of American artists in Italy, see Stebbins, *Lure of Italy.*

9. Hawthorne, *Marble Faun,* 3.

10. Buzard, *Beaten Track,* 155–216.

11. Norton, qtd. in Salomone, "Nineteenth-Century Discovery of Italy," 1383.

12. James, *Italian Hours,* 104.

13. For an excellent analysis of American artists' ahistorical approach to Italy, see Bailey's "Protected Witness."

14. This discussion of the cultural productivity of American accounts of the Risorgimento draws on the vast body of scholarship that has defined texts as a mode of action. Tompkins's notion of the "cultural work" performed by literature in *Sensational Designs,* Montrose's definition of texts as "discursive practices" in "Professing the Renaissance," and Mailloux's concept of the political effectiveness or "rhetorical power" of discourse in *Rhetorical Power* have been especially influential. Given that the texts I examine are in large part nonliterary, I have found LaCapra's contention in *History and Criticism* that historical documents also have a "work-like aspect"—i.e., they possess a performative as well as a constative dimension—extremely useful in my own analysis of diplomatic dispatches, commercial treatises, and religious pamphlets.

15. It is precisely because I focus on the cultural function of American commentary on the Risorgimento that this study differs from prior examinations of the American response to nineteenth-century Italian revolutions. The scholars who have preceded me—Marraro with *American Opinion;* Rossi with *Image of America;* Giorgio Spini with "Le relazioni politiche fra l'Italia e gli Stati Uniti durante il Risorgimento e la Guerra Civile," in Lombardo, *Italia e Stati Uniti,* 121–86; and, more recently, Matteo Sanfilippo with "La questione romana" and Giuseppe Monsagrati with "Gli intellettuali americani e la rivoluzione romana del 1848–49," in Antonelli, Fiorentino, and Monsagrati, *Gli Americani e la Repubblica Romana,* 21–52—have analyzed the materials at their disposal merely for their referential value, that is, for the information they contain about American attitudes toward Italian liberalism. This study, instead, considers American accounts of revolutions in Italy as discursive practices that assumed an active role in the articulation of national identity and the definition of national citizenship.

16. See, for instance, Gerald Prince's essay "Narratology" in Groden and Kreswirth, *Johns Hopkins Guide to Literary Theory,* 524–28.

17. For discussions of narrative that emphasize its social agency, see, among others, J. Hillis Miller's essay "Narrative" in Lentricchia and McLaughlin, *Critical Terms,* 66–79; Phelan, *Reading Narrative;* and Phelan and Rabinowitz, *Understanding Narrative.*

18. Jameson, *Political Unconscious.*

19. See Chapman, *Story and Discourse.*

20. For a compendium of postmodern views of representation, see W. J. T. Mitchell's

essay "Representation" in Lentricchia and McLaughlin, *Critical Terms,* 11–22. For the issue of the fictionality of narrative, see Phelan and Rabinowitz's introductory essay to *Understanding Narrative,* 1–16.

CHAPTER 1. OF AMERICAN MENTORS AND FOREIGN PUPILS

1. Hamilton, 362–64.

2. Previous investigations of American depictions of the process of nation formation in nineteenth-century Italy have emphasized their positive character. Marraro argued in *American Opinion,* still the most extensive study on the subject, that "Americans paused to contemplate the spectacle of a reviving Italy, and every generous heart thrilled with admiration at the sight" (306). In the current work, the large body of less than admiring narratives of the Risorgimento that do not appear in Marraro's study play an important role. Others have recently noticed their existence. Vance, for instance, writes in his encyclopedic *America's Rome* that American authors of sociopolitical representations of Rome "were far from being consistent representatives of the radical democracy heralded by Fuller" (2:109), whose dispatches from the Roman republic to the *New-York Daily Tribune* have generally been considered highly supportive of it. My work builds upon Vance's observations in that it attempts to analyze the large number of negative accounts of Italian events he examines in his book in terms of nationalist ideology.

3. See Anderson's *Imagined Communities;* Hobsbawm and Ranger's collection of essays, *Invention of Tradition;* Hobsbawm's *Nations and Nationalism;* and Hastings's *Construction of Nationhood.* Anthony Smith's "Nationalism and the Historians," in his collection of essays titled *Ethnicity and Nationalism,* 58–80, and his *Nationalism and Modernism* are excellent reviews of different trends in the study of nationalism.

4. The most influential example of this kind of analysis of literary texts is still Bhabha, *Nation and Narration,* especially Timothy Brennan's "The National Longing for Form," 44–70, and Doris Sommer's "Irresistible Romance: The Foundational Fictions of Latin America," 71–98, part of her larger study *National Romances.*

5. Anthony Smith, "Nation."

6. Sloane, *Rambles in Italy,* 366–67.

7. Thomas Buchanan Read, "The Appian Way," in Marraro, *Relazioni fra l'Italia,* 294–97.

8. Headley, "The One Progressive Principle," in *Miscellaneous Works,* 1:302–3. The passage had been published earlier (New York: Taylor, 1846) with no reference to the mid-nineteenth-century revolutions and was then reprinted in two successive editions of *Miscellaneous Works* (1849–50, 1850) and in *The Beauties of J. T. Headley* (New York: Taylor, 1851).

9. Stiles, *Austria in 1848–9,* 1:189. Rossi confirms in his "Il mito americano nel pensiero politico del Risorgimento" (in Lombardo, *Italia e Stati Uniti,* 241–60) that the

citizens of Milan refused to consume tobacco after a Giovanni Cantoni published a pamphlet suggesting the boycott and using the episode from the American Revolution as an argument in its favor.

10. Langdon, "Recollections of Rome," 663.

11. *Unity of Italy,* 144, 131, 145–46, 121.

12. Henry Adams to Charles Francis Adams Jr., 15 June 1860, *Letters of Henry Adams,* 1:175.

13. Hamilton, *Reminiscences,* 359, 373.

14. Berrian, *Travels in France and Italy,* 349.

15. Tuckerman, *Italian Sketch Book,* 143.

16. Robert Wickliffe Jr. to James Buchanan, 8 November 1847, in Marraro, *Unificazione italiana,* 1:333.

17. Berlant, *Anatomy of National Fantasy,* 2.

18. The most comprehensive treatment to date of the uses of Roman history in the early republic is Meyer Reynolds's *Classica Americana.*

19. Hobsbawn, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *Invention of Tradition,* 5.

20. Headley, "One Progressive Principle," 301, 295.

21. Lester, *My Consulship,* 2:228–29.

22. My thesis that nineteenth-century America obliterated the sense of continuity with the Roman past it had previously cultivated is limited to American accounts of revolutions in Italy, which, I maintain, needed to revise the previous cultural construction to elevate the United States to the role of absolute republican incipit. Other cultural manifestations not involved with republicanism abroad, however, continued to represent America as Rome's heir. For instance, American sculptors depicted U.S. statesmen in togas until 1870. For an extensive analysis of the construction of America as new Rome both in literature and the arts, see Vance's chapter "The Forum: History's Largest Page" in his *America's Rome,* 1:2–42.

23. I am indebted for my discussion of historical literature and painting to Pasquali, Balestreri, and Terzuoli, *La società e le lettere;* Ferroni, *Storia della letteratura,* 3; and Boime, *Art of the Macchia.*

24. Pascoli, qtd. in Spadolini, *Italia repubblicana,* 22.

25. Croce, qtd. in Pasquali, Balestreri, and Terzuoli, *Società e le lettere*, 376.

26. Salvatorelli, *Risorgimento,* 11, 38.

27. Piero Bairati, "Alfieri e la Rivoluzione Americana," in Spini et al., *Italia e America,* 81.

28. Confalonieri, qtd. in Salvo Mastellone, "La Costituzione degli Stati Uniti e gli uomini del Risorgimento, 1820–1860," in Lombardo, *Italia e Stati Uniti,* 277.

29. D'Azeglio, qtd. in Joseph Rossi, "Il mito americano nel pensiero politico del Risorgimento," in Lombardo, *Italia e Stati Uniti,* 255.

30. Buonarroti, qtd. in Clara M. Lovett, "Nineteenth-Century Italian Radicals and the American Republic: A Study in Ambivalence," in Nelli, *United States and Italy,* 35. Besides the studies mentioned in notes 27–29, I am indebted for my discussion of Italian responses to democracy in America to Woodward's *Old World's New World* and

Spini's "Perception of America in Italian Consciousness: 1776–1865," in Nelli, *United States and Italy,* 49–59.

31. Powers, qtd. in Fryd, "Hiram Powers's *America,*" 64. For an excellent discussion of the iconography of *America,* see Yellin's "Caps and Chains" and *Women and Sisters,* especially 112–24. Yellin examines the relationship between both *America* and Powers's most famous work, *The Greek Slave* (1841–47), with American abolitionism. While Powers was opposed to the extension of slavery in the West, he feared abolitionism would rend the country apart and objected to the abolitionists' use of his work for the purposes of their campaign. In fact, he acknowledged that his America was stepping on the chains of human bondage as well as of colonial dependence only after the end of the Civil War.

32. The incident is recounted in Boime, *Art of the Macchia,* 174.

33. For a discussion of public violence in antebellum America, see Feldberg's *Turbulent Era.* On American political evangelism and exceptionalism and critiques thereof, see Tyrell's "American Exceptionalism" and Kammen's "Problem of American Exceptionalism."

34. For a study of Howells's Italian experience, see Woodress's *Howells and Italy.* William L. Vance's essay "Seeing Italy: The Realistic Rediscovery by Twain, Howells, and James," in Stebbins, *Lure of Italy,* 94–111, examines *Venetian Life* at length.

35. Howells, *Venetian Life,* 23–24, 20, 26.

36. Henry Adams to Charles Francis Adams Jr., 16 April 1860, *Letters of Henry Adams,* 1:124–26. Adams's Italian travels are discussed by William Stowe in *Going Abroad,* 197–201.

37. Henry Adams to Charles Francis Adams Jr., 9 June 1860, *Letters of Henry Adams* 1:169, 174, 169.

38. Stiles, *Austria in 1848–9,* 1:300–301, 311–12. Paulson's *Representations of Revolution* discusses libertinage as a common accusation brought by conservative factions against post-revolutionary societies.

39. For information on Nast's participation in Garibaldi's conquest of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, see Prezzolini's *Come gli Americani,* 239–44, and Paine's *Th. Nast,* 45–68.

40. "Street Scene in Naples," 286.

41. For a study of the societal anxiety raised by female transvestitism, see Faderman's classic text, *Surpassing the Love of Men,* especially 47–62.

42. Cott's *Bonds of Womanhood* and Welter's "Cult of True Womanhood" remain essential studies of the privatization of women's life in the first half of the nineteenth century. Kelley's *Private Woman, Public Sphere* is a valuable examination of the societal impediments barring women from access to the public sphere as well as their own apprehension about entering it.

43. Lewis Cass Jr. to John M. Clayton, 14 June 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers,* 43.

44. Nathaniel Niles to James Buchanan, 24 December 1848, in Marraro, *Unificazione italiana,* 2:66.

45. Niles to Buchanan, 22 February 1849, in *ibid.,* 2:78.

46. J. R. Chandler to Lewis Cass, [no date] October 1860, in Marraro, *Diplomatic Relations,* 2:583.

47. "Italian Revolutions in 1848," 75, 91.

48. "Pius the Ninth," 34.

49. Ware, *Sketches of European Capitals,* 206–7.

50. John Rowan to Buchanan, 3 March 1849, in Marraro, *Diplomatic Relations,* 1:670.

51. Tuckerman, *Italian Sketch Book,* 306.

52. Turnbull, *Genius of Italy,* 88.

53. Headley, "Pope Pius IX," 78.

54. Cass to John M. Clayton, 9 April 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers,* 19.

55. Niles to Buchanan, 24 December 1848, in Marraro, *Unificazione italiana,* 2:66.

56. Chandler to Cass, 4 August 1860, in Marraro, *Diplomatic Relations,* 2:545.

57. Millett, *Sexual Politics,* 25. Although their definition of politics as the sum of power-structured relationships is much broader than the one adopted in this essay, I am indebted in my discussion of the feminization and infantilization of Italian revolutionists to Millet's assertion that "sex is a status category with political implications" (24) and to Scott's definition of gender as "a primary field within which or by means of which power is articulated" (Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics,* 45). For the concept of martial republican citizenship, see Cohn's "Wars, Wimps, and Women" and Hoganson's *Fighting for American Manhood.*

58. "Pius the Ninth," 34.

59. Ware, *Sketches of European Capitals,* 203, 206.

60. Headley, *Letters from Italy,* 223.

61. Story, "Giannone," in *Graffiti,* 233–35. My interpretation of the poem as a satire of Italian patriotism differs from previous readings of the poem as an indictment of the system of espionage through which Pius IX controlled his subjects, for instance, Marraro's interpretation in the essay "Poesia americana sul Risorgimento italiano" in *Relazioni fra l'Italia,* 115.

62. For a different reading of *Roman Newsboys* as showing a sympathetic interest in and attention to the evolution of the Italian political scene, see Vance's and Stebbins's eloquent pages on the painting in *America's Rome,* 2:126–27, and *Lure of Italy,* 202–4, respectively. Bailey also reads *Roman Newsboys* as a favorable representation of Mazzini's republic in "Gender, Nation, and the Tourist Gaze," where, unlike me, she interprets Heade's use of newsboys, associated in the United States with aggressive entrepreneurship, as a means to compare revolutionary Italy and modern, commercial America, rather than distinguish them.

63. Greenough, *Ernest Carroll,* 297, 302–3.

64. "Revolution of 1848 in Sicily," 506.

65. Kirkland, *Holidays Abroad,* 183.

66. "Charles Albert," 328.

67. Buchanan to Cass, 16 February 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers,* 17–18.

68. Seward, qtd. in Marraro, *American Opinion,* 300.

69. Lester, *My Consulship,* 2:231, 227.

70. Norton, *Considerations on Some Recent Social Theories,* 3, 44, 17, 40–41.

71. Headley, *Letters from Italy,* 125.

72. Headley, "Pope Pius IX," 85.

73. Jarves, *Italian Sights and Papal Principles,* 244–45.

CHAPTER 2. OF REVOLUTIONS AND COMMERCE

1. Nicholas Browne to James Buchanan, 12 December 1848, in Stock, *Consular Relations,* 129.

2. Ibid., 129–30.

3. Gallagher and Robinson, "Imperialism of Free Trade." For other useful overviews of theories of imperialism, see Brewer's *Marxist Theories of Imperialism,* Mommsen's *Theories of Imperialism,* and Charles Reynolds's *Modes of Imperialism.*

4. Kaplan, "Romancing the Empire."

5. Weeks's essay "American Nationalism, American Imperialism" is an especially useful critique of the traditional opposition of territorial versus commercial expansion and of continental versus global imperialism.

6. Among studies of mid-nineteenth-century American global imperialism, see Hietala's *Manifest Destiny* and Schroeder's *Shaping a Maritime Empire.* Neither one mentions American designs for commercial penetration of the Mediterranean markets, nor does Perkins's *Creation of a Republican Empire,* the first volume in the Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations. The most comprehensive study of U.S. relations with Mediterranean nations, James A. Field's *America and the Mediterranean World,* focuses on the southern and eastern Mediterranean rather than Italy.

7. John Martin Baker, *View of the Commerce,* 10.

8. Ibid., 57, 64.

9. That the collection of knowledge about foreign lands precedes and enables their occupation has been a common assumption of contemporary discussions of imperialism since the publication of Said's foundational study *Orientalism,* which first applied Foucault's notion of the function of knowledge in the production of power to the exploration of the dynamics of empire building. Foucault's "Questions on Geography" is especially relevant to my discussion. For a study of the role of cartography in colonialism, see Harley's "Maps, Knowledge, and Power."

10. Homans, *Historical and Statistical Account,* 150.

11. William Boulware to A. P. Upshur, 3 December 1843, in Marraro, *Diplomatic Relations,* 1:558–59. My discussion of the commercial relations between the United States and Italy is indebted to Marraro's *Relazioni fra l'Italia e gli Stati Uniti* and his edition of diplomatic dispatches, *Unificazione italiana.* Spini also discusses American trade with Italy in his excellent "Italy and the United States."

12. Buchanan to Jacob L. Martin, 5 April 1848, in Stock, *United States Ministers,* 4.

13. *Proceedings of the Public Demonstration,* 38.

14. See Denis Mack Smith, *Cavour,* especially 50–58 and 94–106. Among Italian discussions of Cavour's economic policy, see Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia moderna,* vol. 3:124–40.

15. Evans, *Exports, Domestic.*

16. See *Italian Independence.*

17. *Proceedings of the Public Demonstration,* 32, 18, 37.

18. Nathaniel Niles to Buchanan, 28 January 1848, in Marraro, *Unificazione italiana,* 2:17.

19. Niles to Buchanan, 25 August 1848, in ibid., 2:46.

20. James A. Field, *America and the Mediterranean World,* 221.

21. Ibid., 219.

22. Niles to Buchanan, 9 May 1848, in Marraro, *Unificazione italiana,* 2:18.

23. The most comprehensive study of American involvement with the cause of Hungarian independence is Spencer's *Louis Kossuth and Young America.*

24. Daniel Webster to Mr. G. J. Hulsemann, 21 December 1850, in *Works of Daniel Webster,* 6:495–96.

25. Ibid., 496.

26. Webster, qtd. in Spencer, *Louis Kossuth and Young America,* 42.

27. For a discussion of Young America's program, see Curti's "Young America," Danbom's "Young America Movement," and Widmer's monograph, *Young America.*

28. "Our Mission," 40, 35; "Crisis in Europe," 403; "Our Mission," 36.

29. "Crisis in Europe," 403, 411, 406.

30. "Our Mission," 36; "Intervention," 62.

31. "Mazzini—Young Europe," 51.

32. "Nations are not ungrateful. A united Italy will need but a word, a clue, to open its arms to the people who aided it and favor their influence in Europe with all its strength." Giuseppe Mazzini to Pierre Soulé, 17 January 1855, in Mazzini, *Edizione nazionale: Appendice epistolare,* 5:53. For a study of Soulé's involvement with Italian republicanism and this letter in particular, see Colombo's "A proposito di una lettera inedita." Mazzini's contacts with members of Young America are also discussed in Rossi's *Image of America,* 91–104.

33. Mazzini to Jessie White Mario, March 1857, in Mazzini, *Edizione nazionale,* 58:34.

34. Mazzini, "Istruzioni della Giunta Nazionale d'Azione," in ibid., 51:319.

35. "Monarchy and the Republic," 199.

36. Ibid., 311.

37. Among other accounts of Rossi's ministry, see Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia moderna,* 311–33, and Valeri, *Storia d'Italia,* 3:784–88.

38. "Monarchy and the Republic," 312, 194, 312, 308.

39. Farrenc, *Republican Sketches,* 167–69.

40. Ibid., 73, 500.

41. "Crisis in Europe," 409.

42. I am indebted for my discussion of British attitudes toward Italian liberalism to Rudman's *Italian Nationalism and English Letters* and McIntire's *England against the Papacy.*

43. "Monarchy and the Republic," 312.

44. Russell, qtd. in McIntire, *England against the Papacy,* 30.

45. For an excellent overview of Anglo-American antagonism in the antebellum period, see Brauer's essays, "United States and British Imperial Expansion" and "1821–1860: Economics and the Diplomacy of American Expansionism." I have also profited from the discussion of manifest destiny in LaFeber's *American Age,* 91–147.

46. "Position of Parties," 92.

47. Robert Wickliffe Jr. to Buchanan, 7 September, 1847, in Marraro, *Unificazione italiana,* 1:323.

48. Marraro, *American Opinion,* 33–35.

CHAPTER 3. AN AMERICAN JEREMIAH IN ROME

1. Fuller, *Essential Margaret Fuller,* 404.

2. Fuller, *"These Sad but Glorious Days,"* 230.

3. See, among others, Salomone, "Nineteenth-Century Discovery of Italy"; Ann Douglass, "Margaret Fuller and the Search for History"; Allen, "Political and Social Criticism"; Jeffrey Steele, introduction to Fuller, *Essential Margaret Fuller;* and Vance, *America's Rome,* 2:105–210.

4. Chevigny, "To the Edges of Ideology," 190.

5. Chevigny, *Woman and the Myth,* 376. Interestingly, the only dissenting voices are those of two Italian scholars, Rosella Mamoli Zorzi and Sara Antonelli. Mamoli Zorzi, in the introduction to her translation of the *Tribune* dispatches into Italian, "Il viaggio di un'americana," argues that Fuller's account of the Roman republic has "typically American traits," whether it be faith in American democracy or Protestant prejudice against the Catholic Church. Antonelli concludes in her essay, "É questo che fa la mia America: Il giornalismo di Margaret Fuller," that "for Fuller, the United States remained an unavoidable model for the oppressed of the world" (in Antonelli, Fiorentino, and Monsagrati, *Gli Americani e la Repubblica Romana,* 158). While Mamoli Zorzi does not address the issue of Fuller's nationalism explicitly and Antonelli focuses on Fuller's opposition to slavery, both essays testify to the analytical advantage conferred on foreign scholars of American culture by their position of cultural marginality, which enables them to be aware of ideological systems often invisible to native scholars.

6. Mamoli Zorzi and Larry Reynolds first observed that Fuller's use of the European scene to indict America could be called a jeremiad in, respectively, "Il viaggio di un'americana in Italia" and *European Revolutions,* 54–78. Although my analysis is indebted to their description, it differs from it in that I stress the fundamentally celebratory and nationalistic nature of the jeremiad rather than its critical import.

7. Several readers have noticed the contrast between Fuller's public and private accounts of Italian liberalism, most recently Reynolds and Belasco Smith in their introduction to Fuller, *"These Sad but Glorious Days,"* especially 30–31. Unlike these critics, who have found Fuller's private censure of the Roman republicans incompatible with her public stance, I find her unpublished negative comments consistent with her public adoption of a mode of social criticism that reaffirms American republican exceptionalism.

8. As examples of Fuller's social criticism in the *New-York Daily Tribune,* see "New Year's Day" (1 January 1845); "*Oneota; or, The Red Race in America,* by Henry R. Schoolcraft" (12 February 1845); "Our City Charities" (19 March 1845); "Prevalent Idea that Politeness Is Too Great a Luxury to Be Given to the Poor" (31 May 1845); *"Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass"* (10 June 1845); "Asylum for Discharged Female Convicts" (19 June 1845); "1st January 1846" (31 December 1845); "The Rich Man—An Ideal Sketch" (6 February 1846); "The Poor Man—An Ideal Sketch" (25 March 1846); "What Fits a Man to Be a Voter?" (31 March 1846); "*Memoirs, Official and Personal, with Sketches of Travel Among the Northern and Southern Indians,* by Thomas L. M'Kenney" (8 July 1846); and "Victory" (21 May 1846). Fuller's articles for the *Tribune* prior to her departure for Europe have been reprinted in Fuller, *Margaret Fuller, Critic.*

9. For a discussion of Fuller's familiarity with the political literature of the revolutionary era, see Ann Douglass's "Margaret Fuller and the Search for History," especially 43–52. For other exhaustive overviews of her cultural formation, see the biography by Von Mehren, *Minerva and the Muse,* and the first volume of Capper's *Margaret Fuller.*

10. Fuller, *Margaret Fuller, Critic,* 424.

11. See Bercovitch's *American Jeremiad* and *Rites of Assent.*

12. Fuller, *Margaret Fuller, Critic,* 424.

13. Ibid., 14–15, 328.

14. Fuller, *"These Sad but Glorious Days,"* 164, 230.

15. Ibid., 164–65, 230.

16. Ibid., 165, 161, 277, 284, 317.

17. The text of Fuller's journal is available in Rostenberg's "Margaret Fuller's Roman Diary."

18. Fuller, *"These Sad but Glorious Days,"* 300, 304, 305, 315.

19. Fuller to Caroline Sturgis Tappan, 16 March 1849, in Fuller, *Letters of Margaret Fuller,* 5:209.

20. Fuller to Giovanni Angelo Ossoli, 4 April 1849, in ibid., 5:223.

21. Fuller, *"These Sad but Glorious Days,"* 213.

22. Rostenberg, "Margaret Fuller's Roman Diary," 220.

23. Fuller to Costanza Arconati Visconti, 22 June 1848, in Fuller, *Letters of Margaret Fuller,* 5:73.

24. Fuller to Giuseppe Mazzini, 3 March 1849, in ibid., 5:196.

25. Fuller to Visconti, 22 June 1848.

26. Fuller to Mazzini, 3 March 1849.

27. See Cristina Zwarg's "Reading before Marx: Margaret Fuller and the *New-York Daily Tribune,*" in Machor, *Readers in History,* 228–58, and P. Joy Rouse's "Margaret Fuller: A Rhetoric of Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century America," in Clark and Halloran, *Oratorical Culture,* 110–36.

28. For the notion of "aestheticization" of the revolutions in Italy and their consequent depreciation, I am indebted to Spurr's *Rhetoric of Empire.*

29. Fuller to William H. Channing, 7 May 1847, in Fuller, *Letters of Margaret Fuller,* 4:271.

30. See Bailey's "Protected Witness."

31. Fuller, *"These Sad but Glorious Days,"* 175–76.

32. Ibid., 136–37, 160, 158, 241.

33. That Fuller remakes Italy into a political entity for her American readers is the thesis of Bailey's "Fuller, Hawthorne, and Imagining Urban Spaces" and "Representing Italy."

34. Fuller, *"These Sad but Glorious Days,"* 180, 247.

35. Fuller to Emelyn Story, 28 November 1848, in Fuller, *Letters of Margaret Fuller,* 5:158.

36. Fuller, *"These Sad but Glorious Days,"* 276, 280.

37. Fuller to Ralph Waldo Emerson, 10 June 1849, in Fuller, *Letters of Margaret Fuller,* 5:240.

38. Fuller, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century,* 33–34.

39. Fuller, *"These Sad but Glorious Days,"* 159, 154.

40. Fuller, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century,* 29.

CHAPTER 4. REPUBLICAN DEBATES I

1. Lester, *My Consulship,* 2:227.

2. See Balibar's essay "Racism and Nationalism," in Balibar and Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class,* 37–68.

3. Fuller, *"These Sad but Glorious Days,"* 159.

4. I am indebted for my discussion of proslavery arguments to Faust, *Ideology of Slavery;* Frederickson, *Black Image in the White Mind;* Genovese, *Slaveholders' Dilemma;* Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny;* Stanton, *Leopard's Spot;* Takaki, *Proslavery Crusade;* and Tise, *Proslavery.*

5. For information on Italian political exiles and their relationship with American intellectuals, see Lograsso's "Piero Maroncelli in America" and "Silvio Pellico in the United States."

6. "Miss Sedgwick's Letters from Abroad," 183.

7. Ibid., 183–84.

8. Greeley, *Glances at Europe,* 211.

9. Peabody, "Italy," 470.

10. Nott and Gliddon, *Types of Mankind,* 404–5.

11. Tuckerman, "Giuseppe Garibaldi," 35. For Tuckerman's interview with Garibaldi, see Gay, "Il secondo esilio di Garibaldi."

12. "Count Camillo di Cavour," 47, 53.

13. Sedgwick, *Letters from Abroad,* 2:272.

14. "People," 36.

15. When Kossuth failed to support the abolitionist cause for fear of losing the support of the South, Garrison attacked him in the more-than-one-hundred-page-long *Letter to Louis Kossuth Concerning Freedom and Slavery in the U.S.* (1851) as the embodiment of a myopic patriotism incapable of traversing national boundaries to embrace the cause of universal freedom. See Spencer, *Louis Kossuth and Young America,* 65–81.

16. William Lloyd Garrison to Wendell Phillips Garrison, 13 March 1872, in Garrison, *Letters of William Lloyd Garrison,* 4:229. Among the articles devoted to the Roman republic in the *Liberator* are foreign correspondent Edward Search's "France and Italy" (1 June 1849) and "Rome, Austria, France" (29 June 1849), and especially the reprint of Mazzini's own "Letter to Messieurs de Toqueville and de Falloux, Ministers of France" (19 October 1849), in which he refuted the imputations of anarchy with which the French government had legitimized intervention against the republican government of Rome.

17. Howe, "Whit-Sunday in Church," in *Passion Flowers,* 76–78. The most recent general discussion of the Italian poems in *Passion Flowers* can be found in Buonomo's *Backward Glances.* For American poetry of the Risorgimento in general, see Marraro's extensive collection of poems by famous and less popular writers alike, "Poesia americana sul Risorgimento italiano," in his *Relazioni fra l'Italia,* 104–304; Peterson's "Echoes of the Italian Risorgimento"; and Aldo Celli's "Il Risorgimento nella poesia americana," in Lombardo, *Italia e Stati Uniti,* 19–39.

18. Simms, "Morals of Slavery," 264–67. The essay, occasioned by British writer Harriet Martineau's indictment of slavery in her *Society in America,* was originally published in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in 1837.

19. "Glimpses at Europe during 1848," 194–95.

20. "More Sham, More Mock Republican Sympathy."

21. Delany, "True Patriotism," *Rochester (New York) North Star,* 8 December 1848, in Delany, *Martin R. Delany,* 138, 140.

22. For my discussion of the tensions between black and white abolitionism and the racialist prejudice that tainted the latter, I am especially indebted to Ripley, *Witness for Freedom.*

23. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* 234.

24. See Larry Reynolds, *European Revolutions,* 153–57.

25. Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* 388.

26. Ibid., 234.

27. Annie Adams Fields, "To dear home people," January 1860, Annie Adams Fields Papers, Massachussetts Historical Society. I am grateful to Susan K. Harris for sharing this letter with me.

28. Fields, *Life and Letters of Harriet Beecher Stowe,* 255–56. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was

very popular in Italy and went through ten Italian editions between 1852 and 1854. See Woodress, "*Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Italy."

29. Tatiana Petrovich Njegosh underscores the nationalist import of the comparison between the Italian patriot and the African slave in her "Henry James e la Repubblica Romana del 1849: *William Wetmore Story and His Friends* (1903)," in Antonelli, Fiorentino, and Monsagrati, *Gli Americani e la Repubblica Romana,* 189–210.

30. Quarles, *Blacks on John Brown,* 40–41. For a study of African American abolitionists' interpretation of the Harpers Ferry episode, see Littlefield's "Blacks, John Brown, and a Theory of Manhood."

31. Frederick Douglass, "Meeting in Joy Street Church," 391–92.

32. For a discussion of the cult of Garibaldi in the United States, see Berthold's "Melville, Garibaldi, and the Medusa of Revolution."

33. For a brilliant analysis of the link between anti-Catholicism and abolitionism, see Franchot's *Roads to Rome,* especially 171–74.

34. Parker, "Politics and the Pulpit."

35. Johnson, "Address of H. W. Johnson."

36. See Moses, *Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms,* and Andrews, *To Tell a Free Story,* 174–76.

37. Frederick Douglass, "Prospect in the Future," 306. Although her argument differs from mine, I am indebted to Marion S. Miller for alerting me to Douglass's references to Garibaldi in her "Rivoluzione e liberazione."

38. Frederick Douglass, "Progress of the War," 514.

39. George P. Marsh to Secretary of State William H. Steward, 14 September 1861, in Denis Mack Smith, *Garibaldi,* 71–72. For a detailed account of the episode, see Gay's "Lincoln's Offer of a Command to Garibaldi," Marraro's "Lincoln's Offer of a Command," Fragasso's "Giuseppe Garibaldi and the Civil War," and Bacarella's *Lincoln's Foreign Legion,* 61–66. The scholarship on this moment of transatlantic contact constitutes an interesting example of American historians' efforts to constrict the past within the framework of national exceptionalism. Most critics maintain that Lincoln's attempt to enlist Garibaldi failed not because the Italian's strong antislavery stance clashed with the Union's conservative position on the issue, but because he requested to be made commander-in-chief of the army, a role reserved by the Constitution for the president only. This emphasis exorcises the episode's potential, which Douglass well understood, to severely compromise the mythology of America's moral superiority and reduces it instead to the amusing tale of a foreigner's naive arrogance.

CHAPTER 5. REPUBLICAN DEBATES II

1. For a discussion of the struggle for control in the local church, see Dolan's *American Catholic Experience,* 158–94.

2. For Hughes's campaign against the institutionalization of Protestant education and "The Decline of Protestantism" sermon, see Billington's *Protestant Crusade,* 142–65 and 190–92, respectively.

3. For Bedini's visit to the United States, see Marraro's *American Opinion,* 138–48, and Matteo Sanfilippo's "Questa mia missione."

4. See Prezzolini, *Come gli Americani;* Rossi, *Image of America;* Spini, *Risorgimento e protestanti;* Spini, "Le relazioni politiche fra l'Italia e gli Stati Uniti durante il Risorgimento e la Guerra Civile," in Lombardo, *Italia e Stati Uniti,* 121–85; and the more recent essays by Matteo Sanfilippo, "La questione romana" and "Tra antipapismo e cattolicesimo: Gli echi della Repubblica Romana e i viaggi in Nord America di Gaetano Bedini e Alessandro Gavazzi," in Antonelli, Fiorentino, and Monsagrati, *Gli Americani e la Repubblica Romana,* 159–87.

5. Rossi and Spini notice but do not explore the coincidence of philo-Italianism and xenophobia that characterizes the American Protestant worldview at midcentury. Sanfilippo's analysis of what he calls an "imbrication of Italian with American issues" is limited to the Protestant opposition to Bedini's tour ("Tra antipapismo e cattolicesimo," 163).

6. None of the major studies of xenophobia in antebellum America—among others, Billington's classic *Protestant Crusade;* Davis's "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion"; Bennett's *Party of Fear;* and Jacobson's *Whiteness of a Different Color,* 1–90—mentions the importance of accounts of the pope's repression of Italian liberalism in the articulation of the nativist argument that Catholicism was inimical to democracy.

7. On the apologetic nature of American Catholic discourse, see, among others, Dohen's *Nationalism and American Catholicism.* In her excellent "Defending Roman Loyalties and Republican Values," Mize argues correctly that midcentury American Catholics found themselves in the difficult position of having to show their allegiance to Pius IX by condemning the Italian republicans who had dethroned him, while also defending their own questioned status as citizens of the American republic. Although my discussion draws on Mize's observation, it differs from hers in that I focus not on the arguments used to defend the pope, as she does, but rather on those employed to represent the Italian insurgents as perverting republicanism, which allowed American Catholics to condemn them and wish for the return of the pope without compromising their allegiance to American institutions.

8. For studies that emphasize Americans' ambivalent attitude toward Catholicism, see Franchot's *Roads to Rome* and Rose's discussion of religion in *Victorian America and the Civil War* as well as her *Beloved Strangers.*

9. That nativism was a way of uniting Americans of diverse political, religious, and economic interests against a common enemy is Davis's thesis, more recently reproposed by Franchot in her contention that the assertion of a religious, Protestant national selfhood entailed by the anti-Catholic crusade allowed Americans to minimize divisions that endangered the very existence of the nation.

10. See Glenn Miller's essay "Church and State" and Donald G. Jones's "Civil and Public Religion" in Lippy and Williams, *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience,* 1369–91 and 1392–408, respectively.

11. In 1832, Pope Gregory XVI condemned with the encyclical *Mirari Vos* the theory that church and state should be separate and independent of each other and declared

freedom of religion an error rooted in religious indifference. Notwithstanding this negative pronouncement from Rome, the *United States Catholic Miscellany,* the official organ of American Catholicism, continued to support both positions. The episode is discussed in Reher's *Catholic Intellectual Life in America,* 26.

12. Dolan, *American Catholic Experience,* 221–25. For a more in-depth study of the dialectic inherent in American Catholicism between national ideals and religious creed, see Dolan's more recent *In Search of American Catholicism.*

13. "Pastoral Letter Issued by the First Plenary Council of Baltimore, Feast of the Ascension, 1852," in Nolan, *Pastoral Letters,* 181.

14. Dwight, *Roman Republic of 1849,* 224–25.

15. Kip, *Christmas Holidays in Rome,* 277.

16. Lester, *My Consulship,* 2:6.

17. Dwight, *Roman Republic of 1849,* 35, 41.

18. Eddy, *Europa,* 370.

19. *Proceedings of the Public Demonstration,* 20, 44.

20. "What Is the True Character of Pius IX," 265.

21. Headley, "Pope Pius IX," 77.

22. Dowling, *Life and Reign of Pope Pius IX,* 674.

23. Turnbull, *Genius of Italy,* 144–46.

24. Italians tried to confirm and use to their advantage the Protestant perception of the Risorgimento as an antipapal crusade. For example, in an 1845 essay on the conditions of the Papal States written for the *Westminster Review,* Mazzini explicitly linked the cause of the Italian revolutionists with the interests of the anti-Catholic party in England and America. "Are we complaining of the active propagandism of the court of Rome amongst us," he wrote, "and are we forgetting our most powerful auxiliary? Behold at the feet of the throne of usurpation, that exhausts our anathemas, a people seeking nationality, whose nationality recognized, would be a final sentence to the power of enslaving Belief. . . . Obviously the Italian question embraces the solution of the religious question" ("The Papal States," in Mazzini, *Edizione nazionale,* 31:91–92). In his correspondence with Italian exile Felice Foresti, representative of Young Italy in the United States, Mazzini similarly urged him to explain to American Protestant circles that the unification of Italy would necessarily be accompanied by the demise of the power of the popes, or as he put it, that "una Roma del Popolo pon fine alla Roma dei Papi" ("the Rome of the People will be the end of the Rome of the Popes") (Mazzini to Felice Foresti, 21 September 1850, in *Edizione nazionale,* 44:65). Thus, if American Protestants promoted the Risorgimento because they felt it fostered their anti-Catholic plans, Italian revolutionists found it useful to corroborate these beliefs to advance their own cause.

25. For the Protestant support of the revolutionary efforts of the Italian republican party, see the chapter on the Christian Alliance in Rossi's *Image of America,* 31–46.

26. Dwight, *Roman Republic of 1849,* 13–16.

27. Dwight, "Conclusion," *Life of General Garibaldi,* 318.

28. "Saint and the Hero," 670.

29. Prezzolini, *Come gli Americani,* 69–79. For Italian Protestantism in the nineteenth century, see Paolo Sanfilippo's *Il protestantesimo italiano nel Risorgimento* and Spini's *Risorgimento e protestanti.*

30. "Pope and His Protestant Sympathizers," 196.

31. "Meeting in Favor of His Holiness," 180.

32. Hughes, "Present Position of Pius IX," 5.

33. Brownson, "Course of His Holiness," 1.

34. "Foreign News," 229.

35. "Italy," *United States Catholic Magazine,* 92.

36. "Roman Affairs," 139.

37. "Foreign News," 229.

38. "Rome," *Boston Pilot,* 6.

39. "Italy," *Boston Pilot,* 6.

40. "Europe Retrograding," 6.

EPILOGUE

1. Shaler, "European Peasants as Immigrants," 648.

2. For general studies of nativism directed at the new immigrants from Europe, see, among others, Higham's classic *Strangers in the Land* and Jacobson's *Whiteness of a Different Color.*

3. Thayer, *Dawn of Italian Independence,* 2:219–20, 259, 264.

4. Ibid., 1:229–30, 210; 2: 412.

5. Stillman, *Union of Italy,* 380, 58–59.

6. Ibid., 359, 392, 393.

7. For documents of nativist feelings against Italian immigrants, see La Gumina's collection *Wop,* Moquin's *Documentary History of the Italian Americans,* and Tomasi's *Italian in America.* For a discussion of the debate over Italian immigration, see, among others, Mondello's *Italian Immigrant* and DeConde's *Half Bitter, Half Sweet.* For the distinction drawn by Americans between northern and southern Italians, see ibid., 100, and Mondello, *Italian Immigrant,* 142.

8. Shaler, "European Peasants as Immigrants," 648–69.

9. Romero, "Nationalism and Internationalism," 799.

10. Two exceptions are Kaplan's *Anarchy of Empire* and Streeby's *American Sensations.*

11. Ickstadt, "American Studies in an Age of Globalization," 556.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Adams, Henry. *The Letters of Henry Adams.* Edited by J. C. Leverson et al. 6 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982–88.

"The Anglo-Saxon Race." *North American Review* 73 (1851): 34–71.

Arnold, Howard Payson. *The Great Exhibition: With Continental Sketches, Practical and Humorous.* New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1868.

"Austrian Politics." *Southern Literary Messenger* 13 (1852): 535–50.

Baker, John Martin. *A View of the Commerce of the United States and the Mediterranean Sea-Ports, Including the Adriatic and Morea, with Maps of the Principal Harbours in Those Seas.* Philadelphia: Barrington and Murphy, 1847.

Berrian, William. *Travels in France and Italy, in 1817 and 1818.* New York: Swords, 1821.

Brooks, Mary Louise. *Over the Ocean; or, Glimpses of Travel in Many Lands, by a Lady of New York.* New York: Paine and Burgess, 1846.

Brownson, Orestes. "The Course of His Holiness the Pope." *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register,* 24 February 1849, 1.

Bruen, Matthias. *Essays, Descriptive and Moral, on Scenes in Italy, Switzerland, and France, by an American.* Edinburgh: Constable, 1823.

"The Carbonari." *Democratic Review* 38 (1856): 130–37.

Carter, Nathaniel Hazeltine. *Letters from Europe, Comprising the Journal of a Tour through Ireland, England, Scotland, France, Italy, and Switzerland, in the Years 1825, '26, and '27.* New York: Carvill, 1827.

"Charles Albert." *North American Review* 93 (1861): 301–30.

The Christian Alliance: Addresses of Rev. L. Bacon, D.D., and Rev. E. N. Kirk at the Annual Meeting of the Christian Alliance, Held in New York, May 8, 1845: With the Address of the Society and the Bull of the Pope Against It. New York: Benedict, 1845.

Cooper, James Fenimore. *Gleanings in Europe: Italy.* Edited by John Conron and Constance Ayers Denne. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981.

"Count Camillo di Cavour." *North American Review* 96 (1863): 45–72.

"Count de Cavour." *National Quarterly Review* 4 (1861): 140–53.

"The Crisis in Europe: Intervention of the United States." *Democratic Review* 30 (1852): 401–25; 554–69.

De Forest, John William. *European Acquaintances: Being Sketches of People in Europe.* New York: Harper, 1858.

Delany, Martin R. *Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader.* Edited by Robert S. Levine. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Douglass, Frederick. "The Meeting in Joy Street Church." *Douglass' Monthly* 3 (1861): 391–92.

———. "The Progress of the War." *Douglass' Monthly* 3 (1861): 513–14.

———. "The Prospect in the Future." *Douglass' Monthly* 2 (1860): 306.

Dowling, John. *The Life and Reign of Pope Pius IX.* New York: Walker, 1849.
Dwight, Theodore. *Journal of a Tour in Italy, in the Year 1821.* New York: Paul, 1824.
———. *The Life of General Garibaldi, Written by Himself, with Sketches of His Companions in Arms, Translated by His Friend and Admirer Theodore Dwight.* New York: Barnes and Burr, 1859.
———. *The Roman Republic of 1849.* New York: Van Dien, 1851.
Eddy, Daniel C. *Europa; or, Scenes and Society in England, France, Italy, and Switzerland.* 1852; Boston: Bradley and Dayton, 1862.
"Europe Retrograding." *Boston Pilot,* 19 May 1849, 6.
Evans, Charles H. *Exports, Domestic, from the United States to All Countries, from 1789 to 1883.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1884.
Everett, Edward. *The Mount Vernon Papers.* New York: Appleton, 1860.
Farrenc, Edmund. *Republican Sketches: Ciceroacchio; or, The Roman Patriot. Democratic Review* 31 (1852): 67–85, 167–76, 267–75, 305–25, 386–96, 457–503. Revised and reprinted as *Carlotina and the Sanfedisti; or, A Night with the Jesuits at Rome.* New York: Taylor, 1853.
Faust, Drew Gilpin, ed. *The Ideology of Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Antebellum South, 1830–1860.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1981.
Fay, Theodore Sedgwick. *Norman Leslie.* New York: Harper, 1835.
Field, H. M. "The Italian Revolutions in 1848." *New Englander* 7 (1849): 72–94.
Fields, Annie Adams. *Life and Letters of Harriet Beecher Stowe.* Boston: Ticknor, 1897.
"The Foreign News." *United States Catholic Magazine* 8 (1849): 229–30.
Fuller, Margaret. *Un'Americana a Roma, 1847–49.* Translated by Rosella Mamoli Zorzi. Pordenone: Studio Tesi, 1986.
———. *The Essential Margaret Fuller.* Edited by Jeffrey Steele. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992.
———. *The Letters of Margaret Fuller.* Edited by Robert N. Hudspeth. 6 vols. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983–94.
———. *Margaret Fuller, Critic: Writings from the New-York Tribune.* Edited by Judith Mattson Bean and Joel Myerson. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.
———. *"These Sad but Glorious Days": Dispatches from Europe, 1846–1850.* Edited by Larry J. Reynolds and Susan Belasco Smith. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.
———. *Woman in the Nineteenth Century.* 1845. Reprint, New York: Norton, 1971.
"The Future of Italy." *DeBow's Review* 34 (1866): 641–46.
Garrison, William Lloyd. Introduction. *Joseph Mazzini: His Life, Writings, and Political Principles.* New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1872.
———. *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison.* Edited by Walter M. Merrill and Louis Ruchames. 6 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971–81.
Gillespie, William Mitchell. *Rome: As Seen by a New-Yorker in 1843–4.* New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1845.
"Glimpses at Europe during 1848: The Lombardo-Veneto Kingdom." *Southern Literary Messenger* 15 (1849): 193–208.

"Glimpses of Garibaldi." *Atlantic Monthly* 7 (1861): 465–71.
Gould, William M. *Zephyrs from Italy and Sicily.* New York: Appleton, 1852.
Greeley, Horace. *Glances at Europe.* New York: Dewitt and Davenport, 1851.
Greene, George Washington. *Historical Studies.* New York: Putnam, 1850.
Greenough, Henry. *Ernest Carroll; or, Artist-Life in Italy.* Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1858.
Gryzanovski, E. "The Regeneration of Italy." *North American Review* 113 (1871): 274–321.
Hall, E. F. "Italy and the War." *New Englander* 17 (1859): 708–25.
Hall, Fanny W. *Rambles in Europe; or, A Tour Through France, Italy, Switzerland, Great Britain, and Ireland, in 1836.* New York: French, 1839.
Hamilton, James A. *Reminiscences; or, Men and Events, at Home and Abroad, During Three Quarters of a Century.* New York: Scribner, 1869.
Hawthorne, Nathaniel. *The Marble Faun.* 1860. Reprint, edited by William Charvat et al. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1968.
———. *Passages from the French and Italian Note-Books.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1871.
Headley, Joel Tyler. *Letters from Italy.* New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1845.
———. "The One Progressive Principle." In *The Miscellaneous Works of the Rev. J. T. Headley,* 1:289–319. New York: Taylor, 1849.
———. "Pope Pius IX and Italy." In *The Miscellaneous Works of the Rev. J. T. Headley,* 1:67–88. New York: Taylor, 1849.
Hillard, George Stillman. *Six Months in Italy.* 2 vols. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1853.
"History of Piedmont." *North American Review* 85 (1857): 330–68.
"History of the Italian Republics." *Southern Quarterly Review* 1 (1842): 157–73.
Homans, J. Smith, Jr. *An Historical and Statistical Account of the Foreign Commerce of the United States.* New York: Putnam, 1857.
"The Hopes of Italy." *North American Review* 66 (1848): 1–32.
Howe, Julia Ward. *Passion Flowers.* Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1854.
———. *Reminiscences, 1819–1899.* 1900. Reprint, New York: Negro University Press, 1969.
Howells, William Dean. *Italian Journeys.* 1872. Reprint, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1901.
———. *Venetian Life.* 1866. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1894.
Hughes, John. "The Present Position of Pius IX." *Boston Pilot,* 27 January 1849, 5.
"Intervention." *Democratic Review* 30 (1852): 52–63.
Italian Independence: Addresses by Rev. Jos. P. Thompson, D.D., Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, Rev. Henry W. Bellows, D.D., Prof. O. M. Mitchell. Letters by Prof. Benj. Silliman, Hon. Geo. S. Hillard, Hon. Charles Sumner, at the City Assembly Rooms, New York, February 17, 1860. New York: Lloyd, 1860.
Italian Propagandism: Minutes of Committee. New York: American and Foreign Christian Union, 1850.

"The Italian Revolutions in 1848." *New Englander* 7 (1849): 72–94.
"Italy." *Boston Pilot,* 14 April 1849, 6.
"Italy." *Southern Quarterly Review* 10 (1846): 85–128.
"Italy." *United States Catholic Magazine* 8 (1849): 90–92.
"Italy and the Christian Alliance." *Brownson's Review* 12 (1855): 355–93.
"Italy, Past and Present." *National Quarterly Review* 1 (1860): 201–30.
James, Henry. *Italian Hours.* 1909. Reprint, edited by John Auchard. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992.
———. *William Wetmore Story and His Friends, from Letters, Diaries, and Recollections.* 2 vols. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1903.
Jarves, James Jackson. *Italian Sights and Papal Principles as Seen Through American Spectacles.* New York: Harper, 1855.
Johnson, Henry W. "Address of H. W. Johnson." *Rochester (New York) North Star,* 21 August 1848.
Kip, Ingraham. *The Christmas Holidays in Rome.* 1845. Reprint, New York: Dutton, 1884.
Kirkland, Caroline. *Holidays Abroad; or, Europe from the West.* New York: Baker and Scribner, 1849.
La Gumina, Salvatore, ed. *Wop: A Documentary History of Anti-Italian Discrimination in the U.S.* San Francisco: Straight Arrow Books, 1973.
Langdon, William Chauncy. "Recollections of Rome During the Italian Revolution." *Atlantic Monthly* 52 (1883): 503–7; 658–64; 746–53.
Lester, Charles Edward. *My Consulship.* 2 vols. New York: Cornish and Lamport, 1853.
Lieber, Francis. *On Civil Liberty and Self-Government.* 1853. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1891.
"Literature of the Italian War." *North American Review* 90 (1860): 223–42.
Lyman, Theodore. *The Political State of Italy.* Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1820.
Marraro, Howard R., ed. *Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies: Instructions and Dispatches, 1816–1861.* 2 vols. New York: Vanni, 1951–52.
———, ed. *L'unificazione italiana vista dai diplomatici statunitensi.* 4 vols. Roma: Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, 1963–71.
Marsh, Caroline Crane. *Life and Letters of George Perkins Marsh.* New York: Scribner, 1888.
Mazzini, Giuseppe. *Edizione nazionale degli scritti di Giuseppe Mazzini.* 94 vols. Edited by Mario Menghini. Imola: Galeati, 1906–86.
———. "Letter to Messieurs de Toqueville and de Falloux, Ministers of France." *Liberator,* 19 October 1849.
———. "The Republican Alliance." *Atlantic Monthly* 19 (1867): 235–45.
"Mazzini—Young Europe." *Democratic Review* 30 (1852): 41–51.
"Meeting in Favor of His Holiness Pius IX and the Italian People at the Tabernacle." *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register,* 4 December 1847, 180.

"Miss Sedgwick's Letters from Abroad." *Southern Quarterly Review* 1 (1842): 173–84.
"Monarchy and the Republic in Italy: Campaigns of Charles Albert and of the Republicans." *Democratic Review* 31 (1852): 193–208; 305–25.
Moquin, Wayne, ed. *A Documentary History of the Italian Americans.* New York: Praeger, 1974.
"More Sham, More Mock Republican Sympathy." *Rochester (New York) North Star,* 6 July 1849.
Morse, E. Lind, ed. *Samuel F. B. Morse: His Letters and Journals.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914.
Morse, Samuel F. B. *Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States: The Numbers of Brutus.* New York: Leavitt Lord, 1835.
———. *Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United States Through Foreign Immigration.* New York: Clayton, 1835.
Nolan, Hugh H., ed. *Pastoral Letters of the United States Catholic Bishops.* Vol. 1. Washington, D.C.: United States Catholic Conference, 1984.
Norton, Charles Eliot. *Considerations on Some Recent Social Theories.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1853.
———. *Notes of Travel and Study in Italy.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1859.
Nott, Josiah C., and George R. Gliddon. *Types of Mankind.* Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1854.
"Our Mission—Diplomacy and the Navy." *Democratic Review* 31 (1852): 33–43.
Parker, Theodore. "Politics and the Pulpit." *Liberator,* 14 July 1848.
Peabody, Elisabeth Palmer. "Italy." *North American Review* 78 (1854): 470.
Peale, Rembrandt. *Notes on Italy, Written during a Tour in the Years 1829–1830.* Philadelphia: Carey and Lea, 1831.
"The People." *Southern Quarterly Review,* n.s., 9 (1854): 32–57.
"Pius the Ninth and the Revolutions in Rome." *North American Review* 74 (1852): 24–71.
"The Pope and His Protestant Sympathizers." *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register,* 19 December 1846, 196.
"Position of Parties: Fogyism, 'Fuss,' and Foreign Policy." *Democratic Review* 31 (1852): 88–96.
"The Present State of Europe." *Southern Quarterly Review* 16 (1850): 277–323.
Proceedings of the Public Demonstration of Sympathy with Pope Pius IX, and with Italy, in the City of New York, on Monday, November 29, 1847. New York: Van Norden, 1847.
"Recent Social Theories." *Southern Quarterly Review,* n.s., 11 (1855): 253–67.
"The Revolution of 1848 in Sicily." *North American Review* 69 (1849): 499–519.
"The Revolutions in Europe." *North American Review* 67 (1848): 194–240.
"The Rise of Despotism in Europe." *Southern Literary Messenger* 21 (1855): 610–18; 22 (1856): 83–89.
"Roman Affairs." *United States Catholic Magazine* 8 (1849): 138–39.
"The Roman Republic—'Rome to America.'" *Democratic Review* 31 (1852): 333–46.

"Rome." *Boston Pilot,* 28 April 1849, 6.
"Rome: Papal and Republican." *Southern Literary Messenger* 15 (1849): 547–51.
Rostenberg, Leona. "Margaret Fuller's Roman Diary." *Journal of Modern History* 12 (1940): 209–20.
"The Saint and the Hero." *Harper's Weekly,* 20 October 1860, 670.
Sanders, George N. *Illustrated Catalogue of the Political Correspondence of the Late Hon. George N. Sanders, Confederate Commissioner to Europe during the Civil War.* New York: American Art Association, 1914.
Scott, Leonora Cranch. *The Life and Letters of Christopher Pearse Cranch, by His Daughter Leonora Cranch Scott.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1917.
Search, Edward. "France and Italy." *Liberator,* 1 June 1849.
———. "Rome, Austria, France." *Liberato*r, 29 June 1849.
Sedgwick, Catharine Maria. *Letters from Abroad to Kindred at Home.* New York: Harper, 1841.
Seton, Robert, ed. *Memoirs, Letters, and Journals of Elisabeth Seton, Convert to the Catholic Faith, and Sister of Charity.* New York: O'Shea, 1869.
Shaler, N. S. "European Peasants as Immigrants." *Atlantic Monthly* 71 (1893): 646–55.
Simms, William Gilmore. "The Morals of Slavery." *The Pro-Slavery Argument, as Maintained by the Most Distinguished Writers of the Southern States.* 1852. Reprint, New York: Negro University Press, 1968.
Sloane, James. *Rambles in Italy, in the Years 1816–17, by an American.* Baltimore: Maxwell, 1818.
Smith, Cyrus P., Theodore Dwight, and Henry P. Tappan. "American Philo-Italian Society, Organized Dec. 12, 1842: Constitution." *New York Observer,* 21 January 1843, 12.
Stiles, William H. *Austria in 1848–9.* 2 vols. New York: Harper, 1852.
Stillman, William James. *The Autobiography of a Journalist.* 2 vols. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1901.
———. *The Old Rome and the New, and Other Studies.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1898.
———. *The Union of Italy, 1815–1895.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898.
Stock, Leo Francis, ed. *Consular Relations between the United States and the Papal States: Instructions and Dispatches.* Washington, D.C.: American Catholic Historical Association, 1945.
———, ed. *United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Despatches, 1848–1868.* Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1933.
Story, William Wetmore. *Graffiti d'Italia.* 1868. New York: Scribner, Welford, and Armstrong, 1875.
———. *Roba di Roma.* Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1870.
Stowe, Charles Edward. *Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Compiled from Her Letters and Journals.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1890.
Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *Agnes of Sorrento.* Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1862.

———. *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* 1852. Reprint, Edited by Elisabeth Ammons. New York: Norton, 1994.
"Street Scene in Naples on the 8th Inst." *Illustrated London News,* 29 September 1860, 286.
Thayer, William Roscoe. *The Dawn of Italian Independence: Italy from the Congress of Vienna, 1814, to the Fall of Venice, 1849.* 2 vols. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1892–93.
Tomasi, Lydio F., ed. *The Italian in America: The Progressive View, 1891–1914.* New York: Center for Immigration, 1978.
Tuckerman, Henry T. *Essays, Biographical and Critical; or, Studies of Character.* Boston: Phillips and Sampson, 1857.
———. "Giuseppe Garibaldi." *North American Review* 92 (1861): 15–56.
———. *Isabel; or, Sicily: A Pilgrimage.* Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1839.
———. *The Italian Sketch Book.* New York: Riker, 1848.
———. "Massimo D'Azeglio." *North American Review* 107 (1868): 423–44.
Turnbull, Robert. *The Genius of Italy: Being Sketches of Italian Life, Literature, and Religion.* London: Bogue, 1849.
The Unity of Italy: The American Celebration of the Unity of Italy, at the Academy of Music, New York, Jan. 12, 1871, with the Addresses, Letters, and Comments of the Press. New York: Putnam, 1871.
Ware, William. *Sketches of European Capitals.* Boston: Phillips, 1851.
"What Is the True Character of Pius IX?" *American Protestant* 3 (1847): 264–69.
Webster, Daniel. *The Works of Daniel Webster.* 6 vols. Boston: Little and Brown, 1857.
Wilde, Richard Henry. *Hesperia: A Poem.* Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1867.
" 'Young Italy' and Her American Allies." *United States Catholic Magazine* 4 (1845): 540–42.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Adams, Rachel. "The Worlding of American Studies." *American Quarterly* 53 (2001): 720–32.
Allen, Margaret V. "The Political and Social Criticism of Margaret Fuller." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 72 (1978): 560–73.
Amfitheatrof, Erik. *The Enchanted Ground: Americans in Italy, 1760–1980.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1980.
Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* Rev. ed. London: Verso, 1991.
Andrews, William L. *To Tell a Free Story: The First Century of Afro-American Autobiography, 1760–1865.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986.
Antonelli, Sara, Daniele Fiorentino, and Giuseppe Monsagrati, eds. *Gli Americani e la Repubblica Romana del 1849.* Roma: Gangemi, 2000.

Ashworth, John. *Slavery, Capitalism, and Politics in the Antebellum Republic.* 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Bacarella, Michael. *Lincoln's Foreign Legion: The 39th New York Infantry, the Garibaldi Guard.* Shippensburg, Penn.: White Mane, 1996.

Bailey, Brigitte. "Fuller, Hawthorne, and Imagining Urban Spaces in Rome." In *American Holidays: American Writers and Artists in Nineteenth-Century Italy,* edited by Robert K. Martin and Leland S. Person, 175–90. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2002.

———. "Gender, Nation, and the Tourist Gaze in the European 'Year of Revolutions': Kirkland's *Holidays Abroad.*" *American Literary History* 14 (2002): 60–82.

———. "The Protected Witness: Cole, Cooper, and the Tourist's View of the Italian Landscape." In *American Iconology: New Approaches to Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature,* edited by David C. Miller, 92–111. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

———. "Representing Italy: Fuller, History Painting, and the Popular Press." In *Margaret Fuller's Cultural Critique: Her Age and Legacy,* edited by Fritz Fleischmann, 229–48. New York: Peter Lang, 2000.

Baker, Paul A. *The Fortunate Pilgrims: Americans in Italy, 1800–1860.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964.

Balibar, Etienne, and Immanuel Wallerstein. *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities.* Translated by Chris Turner. London: Verso, 1991.

Bender, Thomas, ed. *The Antislavery Debate: Capitalism and Abolitionism as a Problem in Historical Interpretation.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

———, ed. *Rethinking American History in a Global Age.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Bennett, David H. *The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right in American History.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Bercovitch, Sacvan. *The American Jeremiad.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976.

———. *The Rites of Assent: Transformations in the Symbolic Construction of America.* New York: Routledge, 1993.

Berlant, Lauren. *The Anatomy of National Fantasy: Hawthorne, Utopia, and Everyday Life.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Berthold, Dennis. "Melville, Garibaldi, and the Medusa of Revolution." *American Literary History* 9 (1997): 425–59.

Bhabha, Homi, ed. *Nation and Narration.* New York: Routledge, 1990.

———."The Other Question." *Screen* 24 (1983): 18–36.

Billington, Ray Allen. *The Protestant Crusade, 1800–1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism.* Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1963.

Boime, Albert. *The Art of the Macchia and the Risorgimento: Representing Culture and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Italy.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Borghese, Elisabeth Mann, ed. *Testimonianze americane sull'Italia del Risorgimento.* Milano: Edizioni di Comunità, 1961.

Brauer, Kinley J. "1821–1860: Economics and the Diplomacy of American Expansionism." In *Economics and World Power: An Assessment of American Diplomacy since 1789,* edited by William H. Becker and Samuel F. Wells Jr., 55–118. New York: Columbia University Press, 1984.

———. "The United States and British Imperial Expansion, 1815–1860." *Diplomatic History* 12 (1988): 19–37.

Brendon, Vyvyen. *The Making of Modern Italy, 1800–1871.* London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1998.

Brewer, Anthony. *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey.* New York: Routledge, 1990.

Buonomo, Leonardo. *Backward Glances: Exploring Italy, Reinterpreting America, 1831–1866.* London: Associated University Press, 1996.

Buzard, James. *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to "Culture," 1800–1918.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Candeloro, Giorgio. *Storia dell'Italia moderna.* 8 vols. Milano: Feltrinelli, 1956–1978.

Capper, Charles. *Margaret Fuller: An American Romantic Life.* Vol. 1. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Chapman, Seymour. *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978.

Chevigny, Bell Gale. "To the Edges of Ideology: Margaret Fuller's Centrifugal Evolution." *American Quarterly* 38 (1986): 173–201.

———. *The Woman and the Myth: Margaret Fuller's Life and Writings.* New York: Feminist Press, 1976.

Clark, Gregory, and S. Michael Halloran, eds. *Oratorical Culture in Nineteenth-Century America: Transformations in the Theory and Practice of Rhetoric.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1993.

Cohn, Carol, "Wars, Wimps, and Women: Thinking Gender and Thinking Wars." In *Gendering War Talk,* edited by Miriam Cooke and Angela Woolacott, 227–46. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Colombo, Adolfo. "A proposito di una lettera inedita di Giuseppe Mazzini al Sig. Soulé, ambasciatore degli Stati Uniti a Madrid." *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento* 19 (1932): 7–19.

Cott, Nancy F. *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.

———. *The Grounding of Modern Feminism.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.

Curti, Merle. "George N. Sanders—American Patriot in the Fifties." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 27 (1928): 79–87.

———. "The Impact of the Revolutions of 1848 on American Thought." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 93 (1949): 209–15.

———. "The Reputation of America Overseas (1776–1860)." *American Quarterly* 1 (1949): 58–82.

———. "Young America." *American Historical Review* 32 (1926): 34–55.

Danbom, David D. "The Young America Movement." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 67 (1974): 294–306.
Daniels, Roger. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life.* New York: Harper Collins, 1990.
Davis, David Brion, ed. *The Fear of Conspiracy: Images of Un-American Subversion from the Revolution to the Present.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971.
———. *Revolutions: Reflections on American Equality and Foreign Liberations.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990.
———. "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic and Anti-Mormon Literature." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47 (1960): 205–24.
DeConde, Alexander. *Half Bitter, Half Sweet: An Excursion in Italian American History.* New York: Scribner, 1981.
Desmond, Jane C., and Virginia A. Dominguez. "Resituating American Studies in a Critical Internationalism." *American Quarterly* 48 (1996): 475–90.
Dillon, Merton L. *Slavery Attacked: Southern Slaves and Their Allies.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990.
Dohen, Dorothy. *Nationalism and American Catholicism.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1967.
Dolan, Jay P. *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present.* New York: Doubleday, 1985.
———. *In Search of an American Catholicism: A History of Religion and Culture in Tension.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
Douglass, Ann. "Margaret Fuller and the Search for History." *Women's Studies* 4 (1976): 37–86.
Doyle, Don H. *Nations Divided: America, Italy, and the Southern Question.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002.
DuBois, Ellen Carol. *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Woman's Movement in America, 1848–1869*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978.
Durkin, Joseph T. "The Early Years of Italian Unification as Seen by an American Diplomat, 1861–1870." *Catholic Historical Review* 30 (1944): 271–89.
Eagleton, Terry. *Ideology: An Introduction.* London: Verso, 1991.
Faderman, Lillian. *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love between Women from the Renaissance to the Present.* New York: Morrow, 1981.
Faust, Drew Gilpin, ed. *The Ideology of Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Antebellum South, 1830–1860*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981.
Feldberg, Michael. *The Turbulent Era: Riot and Disorder in Jacksonian America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
Ferroni, Giulio. *Storia della letteratura italiana.* Vol. 3. Milano: Einaudi, 1991.
Field, James A., Jr. *America and the Mediterranean World, 1776–1882.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967.
Filler, Louis. *The Crusade against Slavery, 1830–1860.* New York: Harper, 1960.
Foner, Eric. *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

———. "The Meaning of Freedom in the Age of Emancipation." *Journal of American History* 81 (1994): 435–60.
Foucault, Michel. "Questions on Geography." In *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977,* edited by Colin Gordon, 63–77. New York: Pantheon Books, 1980.
Fragasso, Philip. "Giuseppe Garibaldi and the Civil War." *Civil War Times Illustrated* 16 (1977): 5–8, 42–44.
Franchot, Jenny. *Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
Frederickson, George M. *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817–1914*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1971.
Fryd, Vivien Green. "Hiram Powers's *America:* 'Triumphant as Liberty and in Unity.' " *American Art Journal* 18 (1986): 54–75.
Gallagher, John, and Ronald Robinson. "The Imperialism of Free Trade." *Economic History Review* 6.1 (1953): 1–15.
Gay, Harry Nelson. "Garibaldi's Sicilian Campaign as Reported by an American Diplomat." *American Historical Review* 27 (1921): 219–44.
———. "Lincoln's Offer of a Command to Garibaldi: Light on a Disputed Point of History." *Century Magazine* 75 (1907): 63–74.
———. "Il secondo esilio di Garibaldi (1849–1854)." *Nuova antologia* 147 (1910): 635–59.
———. "Whittier propugnatore del Risorgimento italiano." In *Scritti sul Risorgimento,* edited by Tommaso Silani, 169–75. Roma: La Rassegna Italiana, 1937.
Genovese, Eugene D. *The Slaveholders' Dilemma: Freedom and Progress in Southern Conservative Thought, 1820–1860*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992.
Giles, Paul. "Reconstructing American Studies: Transnational Paradoxes, Comparative Perspectives." *Journal of American Studies* 28 (1994): 335–58.
———. "Transnationalism and Classic American Literature." *PMLA* 118 (2003): 62–77.
———. *Virtual Americas: Transnational Fictions and the Transatlantic Imaginary.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.
Gossett, Thomas F. *Race: The History of an Idea in America.* Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1963.
Groden, Michael, and Martin Kreswirth, eds. *The Johns Hopkins Guide to Literary Theory and Criticism.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.
Harley, J. B. "Maps, Knowledge, and Power." In *The Iconography of Landscape,* edited by Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, 277–312. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
Harvey, Bruce A. *American Geographics: U.S. National Narratives and the Representation of the Non-European World, 1830–1865.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.
Hastings, Adrian. *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Hietala, Thomas R. *Manifest Destiny: Anxious Aggrandizement in Late Jacksonian America.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985.
Higham, John. *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925.* 1955. Reprint, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988.
Hobsbawm, Eric. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Program, Myth, Reality.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
Hoeing, Frederick W. "Letters of Mazzini to W. J. Linton." *Journal of Modern History* 5 (1933): 55–68.
Hoganson, Kristin L. *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
Holt, Edgar. *The Making of Italy.* New York: Atheneum, 1979.
Horsman, Reginald. *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.
Hsu, Hsuan L. "Wordling the Archive." *American Quarterly* 55 (2003): 295–302.
Hunt, Michael H. *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.
Ickstadt, Heinz. "American Studies in an Age of Globalization." *American Quarterly* 54 (2002): 543–62.
Iorizzo, Luciano J., and Salvatore Mondello. *The Italian Americans.* Boston: Twayne, 1980.
Jacobson, Matthew F. *Barbarian Virtues; The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad.* New York: Hill and Wang, 2001.
———. *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.
Jameson, Fredric. *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981.
Kadir, Djelal. "Introduction: America and Its Studies." *PMLA* 118 (2003): 9–24.
Kammen, Michael. "The Problem of American Exceptionalism: A Reconsideration." *American Quarterly* 45 (1993): 1–43.
Kaplan, Amy. *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.
———. "Domesticating Foreign Policy." *Diplomatic History* 18 (1994): 97–105.
———. "Romancing the Empire: The Embodiment of American Masculinity in the Popular Historical Novel of the 1890s." *American Literary History* 2 (1990): 659–90.
Kaplan, Amy, and Donald E. Pease, eds. *Cultures of United States Imperialism.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.
Kelley, Mary. *Private Woman, Public Sphere: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.
Kraditor, Aileen S. *Means and Ends in American Abolitionism: Garrison and His Critics on Strategy and Tactics, 1834–1850.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1969.

LaCapra, Dominick. *History and Criticism.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985.
LaFeber, Walter. *The American Age: United States Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad since 1750*. New York: Norton, 1989.
Lentricchia, Frank, and Thomas McLaughlin, eds. *Critical Terms for Literary Studies.* Rev. ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
Lenz, Günter H. "Towards a Dialogics of International American Cultural Studies: Transnationality, Border Discourses, and Public Culture(s)." In *The Futures of American Studies,* edited by Ronald E. Pease and Robyn Wiegman, 461–85. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.
Librino, E. "Un rapporto diplomatico su Pietro Soulé, ambasciatore americano a Madrid." *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento* 19 (1932): 20–23.
Lippy, Charles H., and Peter W. Williams, eds. *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience: Studies of Traditions and Movements.* New York: Scribner, 1988.
Littlefield, Daniel C. "Blacks, John Brown, and a Theory of Manhood." In *His Soul Goes Marching On: Responses to John Brown and the Harpers Ferry Raid,* edited by Paul Finkelman, 67–97. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995.
Lograsso, Angeline H. "Piero Maroncelli in America." *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento* 15 (1928): 894–941.
———. "Silvio Pellico in the United States." In *Proceedings of the Second Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association at the University of North Carolina, September 8–12, 1958,* edited by Werner P. Friederich, 429–45. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959.
Lombardo, Agostino, ed. *Italia e Stati Uniti del Risorgimento e della Guerra Civile.* Atti del II Symposium di Studi Americani, Firenze, 27–29 maggio 1966. Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1969.
Lovett, Clara M. *The Democratic Movement in Italy, 1830–1876*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982.
Machor, James L., ed. *Readers in History: Nineteenth-Century American Literature and the Contexts of Response.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1993.
Mailloux, Stephen. *Rhetorical Power.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989.
Mamoli Zorzi, Rosella. "Il viaggio di un'americana in Italia: Margaret Fuller." In *Viaggio e scrittura: Le straniere nell'Italia dell'Ottocento,* edited by Liana Borghi, Nicoletta Livi Bacci, and Uta Treder, 119–26. Geneve: Slatkine, 1988.
Mariani, Andrea. "William Wetmore Story's *Roba di Roma:* The Sculptor's Prose as Painting." *Rivista di studi anglo-americani* 3.4–5 (1984–85): 123–31.
Marraro, Howard R. "American Opinion of Italy's Annexation of Venetia (1866)." *Journal of Central European Affairs* 5 (1946): 354–77.
———. "American Opinion of the Occupation of Rome in 1870." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 54 (1955): 221–42.
———. "American Opinion on Garibaldi's March on Rome, 1862." *Journal of Central European Affairs* 6 (1947): 143–61.
———. *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy, 1846–1861*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932.

———. "American Travelers in Rome, 1848–1850." *Catholic Historical Review* 29 (1944): 470–509.
———. "Eleuterio Felice Foresti." *Columbia University Quarterly,* March 1933, 36–64.
———. "Garibaldi in New York." *New York History* 27 (1946): 179–203.
———. "Italians in New York in the Eighteen Fifties." *New York History* 30 (1949): 181–203; 276–303.
———. "Lincoln's Offer of a Command to Garibaldi: Further Light on a Disputed Point of History." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 36 (1943): 237–70.
———. "Mazzini on American Intervention in European Affairs." *Journal of Modern History* 21 (1949): 109–14.
———. *Relazioni fra l'Italia e gli Stati Uniti.* Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1954.
———. "The Religious Problem of the Italian Risorgimento as Seen by Americans." *Church History* 25 (1956): 41–62.
———. "Unpublished American Documents of the Roman Republic of 1849." *Catholic Historical Review,* 28 January 1943, 459–90.
———. "Unpublished American Documents on Garibaldi's March on Rome in 1867." *Journal of Modern History* 16 (1944): 116–23.
———. "Unpublished American Documents on Italy's Occupation of Rome." *Journal of Modern History* 13 (1941): 48–64.
Martin, Robert K., and Leland S. Person, eds. *Roman Holidays: American Writers and Artists in Nineteenth-Century Italy.* Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2002.
May, Arthur J. "The United States and the Mid-Century Revolutions." In *The Opening of an Era: 1848, an Historical Symposium,* edited by Francois Fejto, 204–22. New York: Howard Fertig, 1966.
McIntire, C. T. *England against the Papacy, 1858–1861: Tories, Liberals, and the Overthrow of Papal Temporal Power during the Italian Risorgimento.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
Messmer, Marietta, "Towards a Declaration of Interdependence; or, Interrogating the Boundaries in Twentieth-Century Histories of North American Literature." *PMLA* 118 (2003): 41–55.
Miller, Marion S. "Rivoluzione e liberazione: Garibaldi e la mitologia americana." In *Giuseppe Garibaldi e il suo mito,* 219–29. Roma: Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, 1984.
Millett, Kate. *Sexual Politics.* 1969. Reprint, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990.
Mize, Sandra Yocum. "Defending Roman Loyalties and Republican Values: The 1848 Italian Revolutions in American Catholic Apologetics." *Church History* 60 (1991): 480–92.
Mommsen, Wolfgang J. *Theories of Imperialism.* New York: Random House, 1980.
Mondello, Salvatore. *The Italian Immigrant in Urban America, 1880–1920, as Reported in the Contemporary Periodical Press.* 1960. Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1980.
Monga, Luigi. "Diari e corrispondenza di viaggiatori americani in Italia (1700–1950)." *Bollettino del CIRVI* 4 (1983): 281–95.

———. "Diari e manoscritti di viaggiatori in Italia nelle biblioteche statunitensi (II parte)." *Bollettino del CIRVI* 9 (1988): 169–75.

Montrose, Louis A. "Professing the Renaissance: The Poetics and Politics of Culture." In *The New Historicism,* edited by H. Aram Veeser, 15–36. New York: Routledge, 1989.

Morrison, Michael A. *Slavery and the American West: The Eclipse of Manifest Destiny and the Coming of the Civil War.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Moses, Wilson Jeremiah. *Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms: Social and Literary Manipulations of a Religious Myth.* Rev. ed. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993.

Nelli, Humbert S., ed. *The United States and Italy: The First Two Hundred Years.* Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Conference of the American Italian Historical Association (AIHA), Held at Georgetown University, Washington D.C., October 8–10, 1976. N.p., n.d.

O'Brien, Michael. "Italy and the Southern Romantics." In *Rethinking the South: Essays in Intellectual History,* 84–111. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1988.

Paine, Albert Bigelow. *Th. Nast: His Period and His Pictures.* Gloucester, Mass.: Smith, 1967.

Parry, Benita. "Problems in Current Theories of Colonial Discourse." *Oxford Literary Review* 9 (1987): 27–58.

Pasquali, A., M. Balestreri, and G. Terzuoli. *La società e le lettere: Storia della letteratura italiana.* Milano: Principato, 1979.

Paulson, Ronald. *Representations of Revolution (1789–1820).* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.

Pease, Donald E., and Robyn Wiegman, eds. *The Futures of American Studies.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.

Pellegrino, Joanne. "An Effective School of Patriotism." In *Studies in Italian American Social History: Essays in Honor of Leonard Covello,* edited by Francesco Cordasco, 84–104. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1975.

Pemble, John. *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Perkins, Bradford. *The Creation of a Republican Empire, 1776–1865.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Perry, Lewis, and Michael Fellman, eds. *Antislavery Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Abolitionists.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1979.

———. *Radical Abolitionism: Anarchy and the Government of God in Antislavery Thought.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973.

Peterson, Roy Merel. "Echoes of the Italian Risorgimento in Contemporaneous American Writers." *PMLA* 47 (1932): 220–40.

Phelan, James, ed. *Reading Narrative: Forms, Ethics, Ideology.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1989.

Phelan, James, and Peter J. Rabinowitz, eds. *Understanding Narrative.* Columbus: Ohio University Press, 1994.
Pine-Coffin, Robert. S. *Bibliography of British Travel and American Travel to Italy to 1860*. Firenze: Olschki, 1974.
Pinto-Surdi, Alessandra. "Viaggiatori Americani in Italia fino al 1870: Saggio bibliografico." *Il veltro* 38 (1994): 115–39.
Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation.* London: Routledge, 1992.
Prezzolini, Giuseppe. *Come gli Americani scoprirono l'Italia, 1750–1850*. 1933. Rev. ed. Bologna: Boni, 1971.
Quarles, Benjamin, ed. *Blacks on John Brown.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972.
Radway, Janice. "What's in a Name? Presidential Address to the American Studies Association, 20 November 1998." *American Quarterly* 51 (1999): 1–32.
Reher, Mary. *Catholic Intellectual Life in America. A Historical Study of Persons and Movements.* New York: Macmillan, 1989.
Reynolds, Charles. *Modes of Imperialism.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981.
Reynolds, Larry J. *European Revolutions and the American Literary Renaissance.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.
Reynolds, Meyer. *Classica Americana: The Greek and Roman Heritage in the United States.* Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1984.
Riall, Lucy. *The Italian Risorgimento: State, Society, and National Unification.* London: Routledge, 1994.
Ripley, Peter, ed. *Witness for Freedom: African American Voices on Race, Slavery and Emancipation.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.
Romero, Lora. "Nationalism and Internationalism: Domestic Differences in a Postcolonial World." *American Literature* 67 (1995): 793–800.
Rose, Anne C. *Beloved Strangers: Interfaith Families in Nineteenth-Century America.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.
———. *Victorian America and the Civil War.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
———. *Voices of the Marketplace: American Thought and Culture, 1830–1860*. New York: Twayne, 1995.
Rossi, Joseph. *The Image of America in Mazzini's Writings.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1954.
Rostenberg, Leona. "Mazzini to Margaret Fuller, 1847–1849." *American Historical Review* 47 (1941): 73–80.
Rowe, John Carlos. *Literary Culture and U.S. Imperialism. From the Revolution to World War II.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
———. "Nineteenth-Century United States Literary Culture and Transnationality." *PMLA* 118 (2003): 78–89.
———. "Post-Nationalism, Globalism, and the New American Studies." *Cultural Critique* 40 (1998): 11–28.

———, ed. *Post-Nationalist American Studies.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
Rudman, Harry William. *Italian Nationalism and English Letters: Figures of the Risorgimento and Victorian Men of Letters.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1940.
Said, Edward W. *Orientalism.* New York: Vintage Books, 1979.
Saldívar, José David. *Border Matters: Remapping American Cultural Studies.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
Salomone, William A. "The Nineteenth-Century Discovery of Italy: An Essay in American Cultural History. Prolegomena to a Historiographic Problem." *American Historical Review* 73 (1968): 1359–91.
Salvatorelli, Luigi. *The Risorgimento: Thought and Action.* Translated by Mario Domandi. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.
Sanfilippo, Matteo. " 'Questa mia missione così piena di spine': Il viaggio negli Stati Uniti di Monsignor Gaetano Bedini (1853–1854)." *Miscellanea di storia delle esplorazioni* 17 (1992): 170–88.
———. "La questione romana negli scritti dei viaggiatori nordamericani, 1848–1870." *Il veltro* 38 (1994): 185–95.
Sanfilippo, Paolo. *Il protestantesimo italiano nel Risorgimento.* Roma: Ugo Quintily, 1961.
Scalia, Eugene S. "Federico Confalonieri in America." *Italy America Monthly,* March 1934, 10–13; April 1934, 12–15.
Schiavo, Giovanni Ermenegildo. *The Italians in America before the Civil War.* New York: Arno Press, 1975.
Schroeder, John. *Shaping a Maritime Empire: The Commercial and Diplomatic Role of the American Navy, 1829–1861.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985.
Scott, Joan Wallach. *Gender and the Politics of History.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
Semmel, Bernard. *The Liberal Ideal and the Demons of Empire: Theories of Imperialism from Adam Smith to Lenin.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
Singh, Amerjit, and Peter Schmidt, eds. *Postcolonial Theory and the United States: Race, Ethnicity, and Literature.* Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2000.
Smith, Anthony D., ed. *Ethnicity and Nationalism.* New York: Brill, 1992.
———. "The Nation: Invented, Imagined, Reconstructed?" In *Reimagining the Nation,* edited by Marjorie Ringrose and Adam J. Lerner, 9–28. Buckingham, U.K.: Open University Press, 1993.
———. *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism.* London: Routledge, 1998.
Smith, Denis Mack, *Cavour.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985.
———, ed. *Garibaldi.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1969.
Sommer, Doris. *The National Romances of Latin America.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Soria, Regina. *Dictionary of the Nineteenth-Century American Artists in Italy, 1760–1914*. Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1982.
Spadolini, Giovanni. *L'Italia repubblicana: Attraverso i simboli, i dipinti, le foto d'epoca, e i documenti rivive una straordinaria storia per immagini dell'Italia repubblicana dalle repubbliche giacobine alla Repubblica italiana.* Roma: Newton Compton, 1988.
Spencer, Donald S. *Louis Kossuth and Young America: A Study of Sectionalism and Foreign Policy, 1848–1852*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1977.
Spini, Giorgio, et al., eds. *Italia e America dal settecento all'età dell'imperialismo.* Venezia: Marsilio editori, 1976.
———. "Italy and the United States during the Risorgimento and the Civil War." *Storia nordamericana* 3 (1986): 51–94.
———. *Risorgimento e protestanti.* Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1956.
Spurr, David. *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.
Stanton, William. *The Leopard's Spot: Scientific Attitudes toward Race in America, 1815–1859*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.
Stebbins, Theodore E., ed. *The Lure of Italy: American Artists and the Italian Experience, 1760–1914*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1992.
Stowe, William. *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
Streeby, Shelley. *American Sensations: Class, Empire, and the Production of Popular Culture.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
Surdi, Alessandra Pinto, ed. *Scrittori americani nella Campagna Romana: l'Ottocento.* Roma: Palombi, 1999.
Takaki, Ronald T. *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in 19th-Century America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
———. *A Proslavery Crusade: The Agitation to Reopen the African Slave Trade.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.
Thelen, David. "Of Audiences, Borderlands, and Comparisons: Toward the Internationalization of American History." *Journal of American History* 79 (1992): 432–62.
Tise, Larry E. *Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701–1840*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987.
Tompkins, Jane. *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790–1860*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
Tyrrell, Ian. "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History." *American Historical Review* 96 (1991): 1031–55.
Valeri, Nino, ed. *Storia d'Italia dal settecento all'unità.* 6 vols. Torino: Einaudi, 1972–1976.
Vance, William L. *America's Rome.* 2 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
Von Mehren, Joan. *Minerva and the Muse.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994.

Walters, Ronald G. *The Antislavery Appeal: American Abolitionism after 1830.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.
Weeks, William Earl. "American Nationalism, American Imperialism: An Interpretation of United States Political Economy, 1789–1861." *Journal of the Early Republic* 14 (1994): 485–95.
Welter, Barbara. "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820–1860." *American Quarterly* 18 (1966): 151–74.
Widmer, Edward L. *Young America: The Flowering of Democracy in New York City.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
Willging, Eugene Paul. *Catholic Serials of the Nineteenth Century in the United States: A Descriptive Bibliography and Union List.* 17 vols. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1959–1968.
Williams, William Appleman. *America Confronts a Revolutionary World: 1776–1976.* New York: Morrow, 1976.
———. *Empire as a Way of Life.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
Woodress, James L. *Howells and Italy.* Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 1952.
———. "*Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Italy." In *Essays on American Literature in Honor of Jay B. Hubbell,* edited by Clarence Gohdes, 126–40. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967.
Woodward, Comer Vann. *The Old World's New World.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
Woolf, Stuart. *A History of Italy, 1700–1860: The Social Constraint of Political Change.* 1979. Reprint, London: Routledge, 1991.
Wright, Nathalia. *American Novelists in Italy: The Discoverers, Allston to James.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965.
Yellin, Jean Fagan. "Caps and Chains: Hiram Powers's Statue of 'Liberty.' " *American Quarterly* 38 (1986): 798–826.
———. *Women and Sisters: The Antislavery Feminists in American Culture.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

This page intentionally left blank

Adams, Henry, letters of, from Italy, 21, 37–39
African Americans: compared with Italians, 4, 109–10, 114–15, 116–24; as rebels against oppression, 110, 120–21, 123; as victims of oppression, 110, 117, 119–20
American and Foreign Christian Union, 133, 144
American exceptionalism, 1, 13, 36, 105, 163 (n. 3); tension of, with American evangelism, 54–56, 99–100. *See also* National identity, American
American Philo-Italian Society, 144
American Protective Association, 156
American Protestant (periodical), 142
American Revolution, compared with Italian revolutions, 3–4, 42–43
American studies, call for comparative and transnational, 1–2, 3, 162
Anderson, Benedict, 2, 17
Anderson, Osborn Perry, 123
Anti-Catholic discourse: and Catholicism as incompatible with democracy, 136–37, 140, 142–43; function of Italian revolutions in, 7, 134, 139, 144; and papal government as despotic, 140; and Protestantism as foundation of democracy, 136; and Roman republicans as Protestant converts, 141, 144–49. *See also* Catholic immigrants
Anti-Catholicism. *See* Nativism
Atlantic Monthly (periodical), 156, 159
Austria: confrontation of, with United States, 69–70, 71–72; rule of, over Italy, 8–11, 111–12, 119, 154

Bairati, Piero, 31
Baker, John Martin, 60–62, 63, 87
Balibar, Etienne, 3, 108
Bassi, Ugo, 132–33
Bedini, Gaetano, 131–34
Benton, Thomas H., 68
Bercovitch, Sacvan, 4–5, 92, 93, 95
Berlant, Lauren, 23
Berrian, William, 22
Bertinatti, Giuseppe, 51
Boston Pilot (periodical), 149, 153, 154
Botta, Carlo, 31
Bowlware, William, 65
Brown, John, 123; compared to Garibaldi, 124, 128
Browne, Nicholas, 57–59, 87, 88
Brownson, Orestes, 151, 152
Brunetti, Angelo, 80
Buchanan, James, 23, 43, 51, 57, 66, 87
Buonarroti, Filippo, 31
Buzard, James, 13

Carroll, John, 138
Cass, Lewis, Jr., 40, 44, 51, 96
Catholic apologia, American: and American political theory, 149, 151, 153, 154; and Catholicism as compatible with republicanism, 135; function of Italian revolutions in, 7, 149, 150; and Italian independence championed, 150, 154–55; and papal liberalism, 149, 150–51; and Roman republic censured, 135, 149, 151–52, 152–53, 176 (n. 7)
Catholic Church: in Italy, 139, 177 (n.11); in United States, 132, 135–36, 138–39, 176 (n. 11)

Catholic immigrants, 135, 155; as threat to American democracy, 137, 153
Cavour, Camillo Benso di, 11, 159; anglicized, 114; economic reforms of, 67
Chandler, J. R., 41, 44
Channing, William Henry, 101
Charles Albert of Sardinia, 10, 19, 54, 157; military incompetence of, 77, 79
Chevigny, Bell Gale, 90–91
Christian Alliance, 144
Citizenship, republican: competing definitions of, 5, 7, 13, 155; as defined in histories of Italian revolutions, 6–7; martial conception of, 99, 121, 122; racial prerequisites for, 4, 7; religious prerequisites for, 4, 7, 136–37, 139, 149, 155; sexual prerequisites for, 44–45
Civil War, 112
Compagnoni, Giuseppe, 31
Confalonieri, Federico, 31, 110
Cooper, Peter, 68
Croce, Benedetto, 30

D'Azeglio, Massimo, 10, 31, 143; *La disfida di Barletta,* 27; *Ettore Fieramosca,* 27
Declaration of Independence, 25, 81, 82, 128
Delany, Martin R., 120–21
Democratic Review (periodical): advocates intervention, 73, 75–76; Anglophobia in, 82–86, 87; philo-Italianism in, 76–82, 87–88
Dolan, Jay, 138
Douglass, Frederick, 119, 123–24, 128–29
Dowling, John, 143
Dwight, Theodore, 145–46; *The Roman Republic of 1849,* 140–41, 145

Eddy, Daniel Clarke, 142
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 101, 103

England: and anti-Catholicism, 84; and economic competition with United States, 62, 63, 85–88; and Italian liberalism, 82–85
England, John, 138

Farrenc, Edmund, *Republican Sketches,* 80–88
Ferdinand II of the Two Sicilies, 19, 22, 38, 41, 87
Ferrigni, Pietro, 35
Fields, Annie Adams, 107, 122
Foreign interconnection with the domestic, 130, 155, 161; and Catholics, 133, 150; and construction of national identity, 108, 155; and Italian Americans, 157, 160; Kaplan's call for study of, 2
Foresti, Felice, 110, 177 (n. 24)
France, 11, 84
Freeborn, John, 83
Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register (periodical), 149, 150
Free trade, relationship of, to political institutions, 65–66, 67
Fuller, Margaret, 6, 108, 110; aestheticized approach of, to revolution, 91, 100–101, 106; call of, for American recognition of Roman republic, 90, 96; censure of Roman revolutionists by, 91, 97, 98–100, 172 (n. 7); extolling of Roman revolutionists by, 90, 97–98; letters of, 90, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 103–4, 106; modified jeremiad by, 93, 94–95, 171 (n. 6); participation of, in nationalist ideology, 95–96, 97, 99–100, 104, 105–6, 171 (n. 5); personal journal of, 90, 97, 98–99, 100, 106; *Summer on the Lakes in 1843,* 92; *Tribune* dispatches of, 6, 90–91, 94–96, 97, 98, 100, 101–3, 105, 106; *Woman in the Nineteenth Century,* 90, 104, 105

Gallagher, John, 59
Garibaldi, Giuseppe: as alleged critic of Catholic Church, 145–46; anglicized, 113–14; compared to John Brown, 124, 128; defense of Roman republic by, 49, 97–98; exile of, in New York, 113, 145; invasion of Kingdom of the Two Sicilies by, 11, 21, 38, 40, 41, 124, 128; offered command in Union Army, 128–29, 175 (n. 39); popularity of, in United States, 124, 125
Garrison, William Lloyd, 116; admiration of, for Mazzini, 116–17, 123, 174 (n. 16)
Gavazzi, Alessandro, 132–33
Gioberti, Vincenzo, 10, 47, 51, 143
Gladstone, William, 84
Gliddon, George R., 113
Greeley, Horace: *Glances at Europe,* 112; "To His Holiness Pope Pius IX," 68, 92, 100
Greenough, Henry, *Ernest Carroll,* 49–50
Gregory XVI, 52, 83, 140, 141
Grinnell, Moses Hicks, 67
Guerrazzi, Domenico Francesco, 27

Hamilton, James A., 15–16, 22
Havemeyer, William Frederick, 66
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, *The Marble Faun,* 12, 101
Heade, Martin Johnson, *Roman Newsboys,* 46–49, 168 (n. 62)
Headley, Joel Tyler: *Letters from Italy,* 45–46, 54–55; "The One Progressive Principle," 19–20, 25–26; "Pope Pius IX and Italy," 44, 55, 142–43
Henry, Patrick, 24
Hobsbawm, Eric, 17, 24
Homans, J. Smith, 62
Howe, Julia Ward, 117
Howells, William Dean, *Venetian Life,* 36–37
Hughes, John, 132, 133, 151, 152
Hulsemann, G. J., 71, 72

Illustrated London News (periodical), 40
Immigrant Restriction League, 156
Imperialism, American: commercial, in Mediterranean Sea, 6, 59, 60–65, 87–88; and evangelism, 73, 80–82; history of, 60; ideological illusion of, 5, 17; "informal," 59; political, in Europe, 6, 59, 60, 68–72, 73–76, 88; relationship of, to national identity, 6, 59; and Young America, 6, 59, 72–73, 76–80, 88. *See also* Austria; England
Intervention, American: advocated by *Democratic Review,* 73, 75–76; benefits of, 73–75; Italian republicanism in support of, 68–71, 72; legitimized by American evangelism, 73, 80–82; and national aggrandizement, 73; nonmaterialization of, 88
Irish immigrants. *See* Catholic immigrants
Italian immigrants, 8, 156–57, 159–60
Italian patriots: criticism of American democracy by, 23, 31–32; as disciples of American revolutionist, 17, 22–23, 82, 162; feminization of, 35, 43, 44–46; incompetence of, 5, 16–17; infantalization of, 5, 35, 46–50, 98–99; military prowess of, 79, 98; as Protestant converts, 141, 144–49; racialized, 109, 111, 119; unsuitability of, to republican institutions, 43–45, 50–51, 53–55, 78, 99, 111, 115, 128; unsuitability of, to republican institutions because of Catholicism, 140, 143–44. *See also* African Americans
Italian revolutions: in American Catholic apologia, 7, 149, 150; as anarchic, 5, 35, 38–41, 47, 78, 98, 111–12, 157–58; in anti-Catholic discourse, 7, 134,

Italian revolutions (*continued*) 139, 144; as emblematic of danger of Italian immigrants, 159, 160; parodies of, 5, 36–38; positive depictions of, 165 (n. 2); as replica of American Revolution, 5, 20–21, 81–82, 165–66 (n. 9); sexual license in, 39–40, 98, 167 (n. 38); as threat to Italy's aesthetic appeal, 101, 102–3; and U.S. commerce, 58–59, 65–68, 69, 85, 87–88; and U.S. international prestige, 58–59, 68–72, 73, 75, 85, 87–88; visual representations of, 12. *See also* Slavery
Italy: as ahistorical and apolitical, 13, 101; American disinterest in modern, 12–13, 101; unification of, 8–11

James, Henry, *Italian Hours,* 13
Jarves, James Jackson, 55
Jeremiad, American: in abolitionist discourse, 109, 124, 126–29; defined, 6; in Fuller, 91, 92–93, 95–96, 106
Johnson, Henry W., 127

Kaplan, Amy, 2, 59
King, Charles, 67
Kip, William Ingraham, 141
Kirkland, Caroline, *Holidays Abroad,* 50–51
Know-Nothing Party, 133, 142
Kossuth, Louis, 53, 71, 116

Langdon, William Chauncy, 20
Leopold II of Tuscany, 19, 49
Lester, Charles Edward, 26, 52, 107–8, 141
Liberator (periodical), 116, 126
Lincoln, Abraham, 112

Mario, Jessie White, 76
Martin, Jacob L., 66
Mazzini, Giuseppe, 10, 28, 29, 82, 161; and Alleanza Repubblicana Universale, 32; and American anti-Catholicism, 144, 177 (n. 24); antislavery stance of, 116; censured by American commentators, 50, 51, 53–54, 115, 158; correspondence of, with Fuller, 99; criticism of American democracy by, 31, 76; portrait of, in *Democratic Review,* 73, 74; and Young America, 75–76, 88
Mexican War, 92, 126
Millet, Kate, 44
Minto, Lord (Gilbert Elliott), 81, 82, 83, 87
Minturn, Robert B., 68
Morse, Samuel F. B., 137, 153
Mossi, Luigi, 64
Multiculturalism, American: and representation of Italian revolutionists, 7, 108, 110, 157, 163 (n. 5); and transnational American studies, 1–2, 161, 163 (n. 3). *See also* African Americans; Catholic immigrants; Italian immigrants

Narrative: performative power of, 14, 56, 164 (nn. 14–15); as re-creation, 14; as semiotic representation, 14
Nast, Thomas, *Street Scene in Naples after the Arrival of Garibaldi,* 40, 41
Nation: definitions of, 2–3; discursive nature of, 17
National identity, American: unlike ancient Rome, 25–26; articulated in histories of Italian revolutions, 5, 11, 16–17, 56, 108, 139, 155, 161; as democratic model, 5, 16, 17–20, 23, 33, 35, 80–82; and ethnicity, 157; fictive nature of, 5, 23–35, 161; and intervention in Europe, 71–73, 80–82; as new Rome, 23–24, 161, 166 (n. 22); as only republic, 5, 16, 36, 52–56, 107;

racialized, 108, 161; and religion, 139; threatened by slavery, 124, 126–29
Nativism: causes of, 135–36, 156, 176 (n. 9); goals of, 137, 157
New Englander (periodical), 42
Niles, Nathaniel, 40–41, 44, 69
North American Review (periodical), 42, 50, 51, 112, 113
North Star (periodical), 119–20, 127
Norton, Charles Eliot, 13, 53–54, 116–17
Nott, Josiah C., 113

Ogden, William Butler, 68
Ossoli, Giovanni Angelo, 98
O'Sullivan, John L., 69, 88
Oudinot, General, 84

Pareto, Lorenzo, 71
Parker, Theodore, 126–27
Pascoli, Giovanni, 29
Peabody, Elisabeth Palmer, 112, 113
Pellico, Silvio, 110
Philo-Italianism: and abolitionism, 109–10, 116–17; and imperialism, 69, 85, 87–88; and nativism, 134
Pierce, Franklin, 73, 75, 132
Pius IX, 10, 18, 21, 26, 57, 81, 131, 140; as benevolent sovereign, 52, 78, 152; and Britain, 84; conservative turn of, 139; as despot, 78, 142–43; economic reforms of, 66; New York demonstration in support of, 66–67, 142, 150–51; in *Republican Sketches* (Farrenc), 82, 83; in *Roman Newsboys* (Heade), 47
Powers, Hiram, *America,* 32–35, 167 (n. 31)
Prosser, Gabriel, 123

Read, George C., 70
Read, Thomas Buchanan, 18
Reynolds, Larry, 121
Risorgimento: defined, 3; European roots of, 24, 30; history of, 8–11; as middle-class political movement, 45; as reenactment of domestic past, 5, 23, 27–30; religious attitude of, 146–49
Robinson, Ronald, 59
Roman republic, 10–11, 19, 40, 41, 76; Fuller on recognition of, 90, 96; history of, 89–90; military prowess of, 79; not recognized by United States, 51–52; only American painting of, 46–49; as Protestant conversion of Italians, 141, 144–49. *See also* Catholic apologia, American
Rossi, Pellegrino, 78–79, 90
Rouse, P. Joy, 100
Rowan, John, 43
Russell, Lord (John), 83, 84

Salvatorelli, Luigi, 30
Sanders, George N., 73, 75, 88
Sedgwick, Catharine, *Letters from Abroad,* 110–11, 114, 115
Sedgwick, Theodore, 67, 69
Seward, William H., 51
Simms, William Gilmore, "Morals of Slavery," 117–18
Slavery: attacked through histories of Italian revolutions, 7, 115, 116–17, 119–20, 121, 126, 128, 129–30; condemned by Italians, 31–32, 116; defended through histories of Italian revolutions, 7, 109, 110–11, 114, 115–16, 117–19, 129–30
Sloane, James, 18
Smith, Anthony D., 17
Soulé, Pierre, 75, 77, 88
Southern Quarterly Review (periodical), 110–12, 115
Stephens, John Lloyd, 67
Stiles, William H., 20, 39–40, 70, 71
Stillman, William James, *Union of Italy,* 7, 157, 158–59, 160
Story, Emelyn, 103

Story, William Wetmore, "Giannone," 46, 168 (n. 61)
Stowe, Harriet Beecher: meets Italian patriot, 123; *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* 121–22

Taney, Roger B., 128
Tappan, Caroline Sturgis, 98
Thayer, William Roscoe, *Dawn of Italian Independence* 7, 157–58, 159, 160
Tuckerman, Henry T., 23, 43, 113
Turnbull, Robert, 44, 143–45
Turner, Nat, 123

United States Catholic Magazine (periodical), 149, 152
Ussi, Stefano, 33, 35

Verdi, Giuseppe: *La battaglia di Legnano,* 27; *I vespri siciliani,* 27
Vesey, Denmark, 123
Victor Emmanuel II, 10–11, 21, 32, 37, 51, 122
Victoria, Queen, 83
Visconti, Costanza Arconati, 99

Ware, William, 43, 45
Washington, George: as American Cincinnatus, 24; as American Fabius, 24; unlike Caesar, 25
Washington, Madison, 123
Webster, Daniel, 71, 72
Wickliffe, Robert, Jr., 23, 64, 87

Young America: 6, 59; demise of, 88; and Mazzini, 75–76, 88; membership of, 72–73; support of, for intervention, 72; support of, for Italian republicanism over constitutional monarchy, 76–80

Zwarg, Cristina, 100